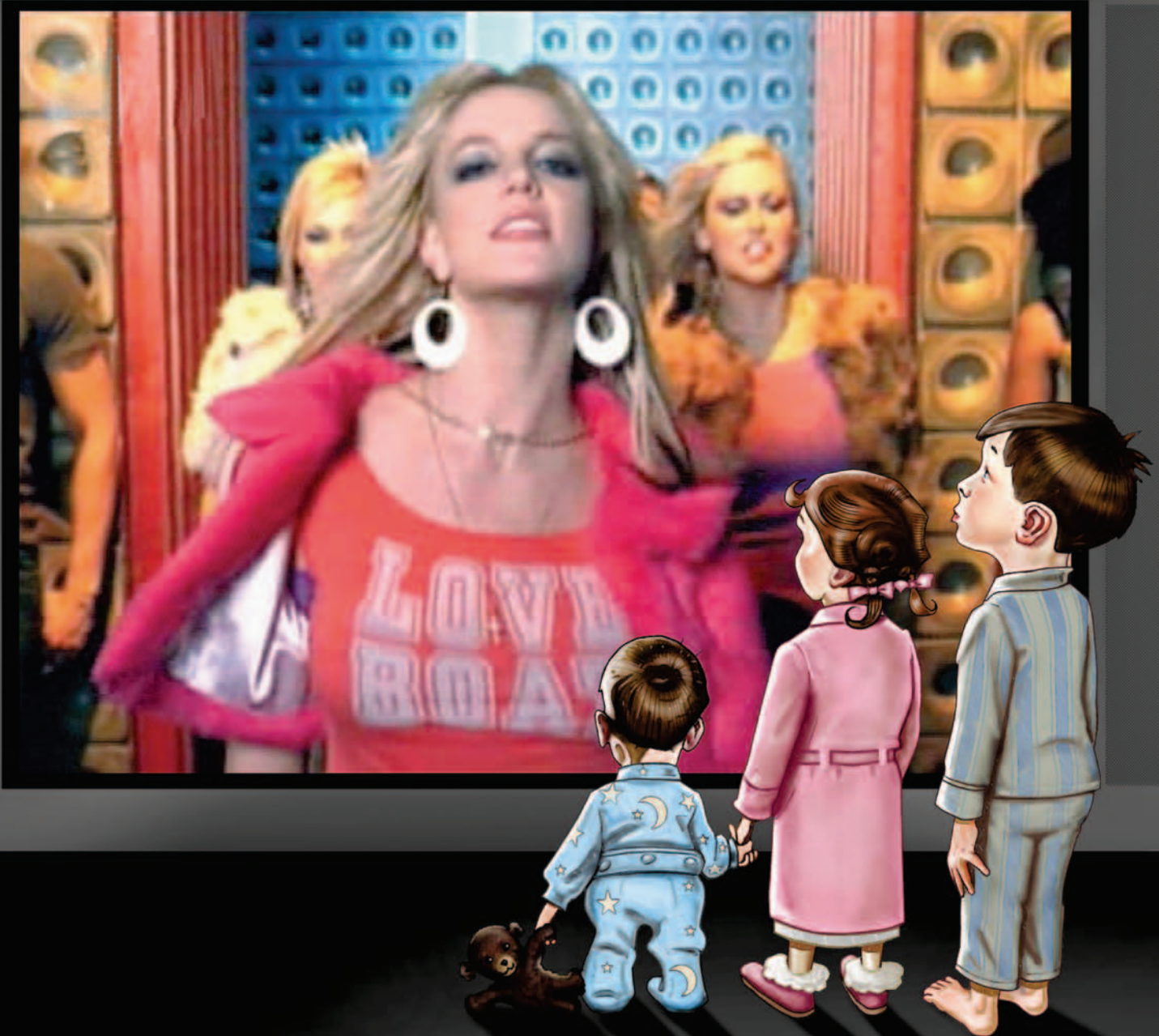


WHY NO PEACE MARCHES? ■ CALIFORNIA'S QUOTAS CONT'D

JULY 4, 2005

The American Conservative

Tragedy of the Commons The Filth Families Can't Avoid



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CHANNELING KIRK

I could not have been more impressed after finishing Scott McConnell's cover story on George F. Kennan (June 6). I have come late in life to the wisdom that is Russell Kirk, and over the past six months I find that I am purchasing just about everything he has written. McConnell's Kennan article reads as if it were written by Kirk himself.

In particular, I appreciate the calm clarity of his writing style. The article is devoid of any hidden agendas or angry axes to grind and is free of gratuitous negative attacks against liberals or neo-cons. It is a pleasure to read such a lucid and informative portrait of Kennan.

DAVID L. GOLDMAN
Sarasota, Fla.

REAGAN, NOT KENNAN

America's Cold War victory over the Communist Russian Empire is solely due to the firm and deliberate actions of Ronald Reagan. It is no way attributable to Kennan's "containment strategy" that McConnell and others allege made Soviet communism "wither and die."

No communist dictatorship has ever withered and died just by containment and appeasement. Please note that China, Vietnam, North Korea, and Cuba are very much alive. Russia was also very much alive for 35 years of containment until Ronald Reagan arrived on the scene.

ZEV ZOLTAN
Los Angeles, Calif.

FREEDOM RIDER

I was pleasantly surprised by William Lind's "On The Right Track" (June 6), his conservative case for mass transit. Transit is often perceived by suburbanites as an assault on their freedom to come and go as they please, as single riders in their own cars. While this may support a strip-mall community, it will never be practical in the cities. There is simply no way to provide manpower to a vibrant economy in our commercial centers if we rely

on the one-car-one-ride model, and no practical thinker can reasonably argue that it would be possible.

I see the train and bus as my freedom: freedom to read, doze off, watch a movie, or work—all *en route* to the office—and freedom to participate in the marvelous entrepreneurial systems of our cities. I happily traded my freedom to sit in traffic in my own car for the freedom to take part in an urban economy, feeling refreshed and enriched every day before work from that small portion of relaxation and solitude I get from a crowded train.

If our cities cannot be adequately staffed with people willing to co-operate in that small way, those very jobs will be restaffed and relocated, and most likely to a location where one-rickshaw-one-ride is the rule.

G.Y. GILPATRICK II
Boston, Mass.

RAILROADING TAXPAYERS

Personal freedom, not collective burdens, is the purpose of our economic system. It seems like William Lind wants to yank us out of our automobiles, drop us into trains, and make us believe that we have bettered our lives.

The 1900s were a great boom in the development of the personal freedom machines, that is, automobiles. They take us to work, to school, to shop, to vacation, to friends, to political meetings, and so on. They are available 24 hours a day. They are very cheap to operate (about 38 cents per mile according to the IRS).

Unfortunately for motorists, much of the taxes on gasoline are swiped away either for pork-barrel waste or collective transit subsidies. If these taxes were actually devoted to traffic improvement, we would eliminate most traffic jams.

It looks like Mr. Lind, who apparently resides within the Beltway in Washington, D.C., has gotten too comfortable with the Metro. It is paid for mostly by the taxpayers of the rest of the country

to the tune of subsidizing each trip by about \$10. Wow, what a deal! But not for the rest of the country.

CARL OLSON
Woodland Hills, Calif.

BAD PR

Jon Utley deserves credit for highlighting the dangers of proportional representation (June 6). PR's defects are both serious and obvious. It gives the extreme ends of the ideological scale disproportionate influence, turns political parties into oligarchies, leads to perverse alliances between ideologically dissimilar groups, and can paralyze decision making. Despite its manifest problems, university experts continue to love PR, perhaps because it seems so "scientific" and allows infinite tinkering with its formula. Besides, PR offers the only way any of their favored politicians would ever get elected.

During the 1940s and 1950s, political scientist Ferdinand Hermens demonstrated that in Italy after World War I, PR sapped the will of Italian politicians, leaving them unable to resist the rise of Fascism. And in Germany, PR allowed the tiny Nazi party to gain first a foothold and then a plurality in the Reichstag, paving the way for Hitler's coming to power. This outcome would have been impossible had Germany retained the majority principle for electing its legislature. By the start of World War II, 80 percent of Western Europe that had adopted PR was living under a dictatorship. For these and many other reasons, Hermens concluded that PR is "the Trojan Horse of Democracy."

MICHAEL ARD
via e-mail

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AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

[COVER]

Tragedy of the Commons

BY GIL REAVILL Smut was once confined to brown-paper wrappers and red-light districts, but now it invades our schools and homes. **Page 7**

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How They Get Away With It

BY SCOTT MCCONNELL Three reasons Washington's empire-builders don't have to worry about '60s-style dissent—not including the volunteer Army. **Page 11**

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Who Owns the Dollar?

BY PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS The Far East hoards our currency while we turn to China for the First World goods we formerly made. **Page 16**

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[WAR]

LIBERATION'S CASUALTIES

You don't have to support the Bush administration's reckless Iraq intervention to be offended by Amnesty International's recent use of the word "gulag" to describe U.S. terrorist detention centers in places like Guantanamo Bay. There is simply no comparison between American policies, even at their most misguided, and the fetid legacy of Soviet oppression.

Yet there was also something amiss in the talking points the White House trotted out in response to the report. George W. Bush, Dick Cheney, and Donald Rumsfeld each rebutted allegations of U.S. human-rights violations in part by pointing to themselves as liberators of Iraq. "I frankly just don't take them [Amnesty International] seriously," Cheney concluded. But this liberation has come at a cost, borne by Americans in blood and treasure as well as by Iraqis. Medical facilities set up to treat wounded Iraqi civilians are overwhelmed; the survivors and their families will be less likely to see in this a positive example of American power.

War for regime change has inflamed the Middle East against us far more than alleged abuses at Guantanamo. An administration that cannot see these consequences is itself difficult to take seriously.

[EUROPE]

DIPLOMATIC IMMUNITY

Voters in France and the Netherlands resoundingly rejected the proposed EU constitution, prompting Britain to scuttle plans for its referendum on ratification and sending the euro plunging. One might think the constitution's defeat would give eurocrats and leaders like Jacques Chirac and Gerhard Schroeder pause to rethink the charter—but one would be wrong. Supporters of the constitution are pressing on, the *vox populi* unheeded.



COPLEY NEWS SERVICE

The French and Dutch had many reasons to reject the constitution, but one little-remarked consideration is the chasmic gulf between the rules eurocrats apply to themselves and those they impose on others. Take taxes. On July 1, an EU directive "will force EU citizens to pay tax on savings throughout the Union," the *Financial Times* reports. But that doesn't include Europeans who work for such transnational institutions as the EU itself, the United Nations, and the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development. They're eligible to join a special savings institution—"open to all active and retired International Civil Servants and associated personnel"—which promises to find ways for its members to dodge the savings tax. Employees of international organizations in Europe also pay minimal income tax. No wonder they feel like a breed apart from ordinary Europeans.

[POLITICS]

BACK TO FRENCH FRIES

North Carolina Congressman Walter Jones has a sense of humor, but he plainly understands that the Bush administration's foreign policy is no laughing matter. Shortly before the invasion of Iraq—which he supported—Jones called on the cafeterias in the House of Representative to replace such unpatriotic fare as French fries and French toast with "freedom fries" and "freedom toast." He meant this as a

"light-hearted gesture," he says, though at the time it fed into the chorus of jingoism eager for war.

What Jones has learned since the invasion has changed his perspective. The U.S. went to war in Iraq, "without justification," he now says. "If we were given misinformation intentionally by this administration, to commit the authority to send boys, and in some instances girls, to go into Iraq, that is wrong," he told the Associated Press last month. In a Republican Party increasingly defined by personal loyalty to George W. Bush to the exclusion of conservative principles, Jones's remarks show him to be a rare congressman with a backbone as well as a funny bone.

[NEOCONS]

GUYS & DOLLS

When it first became evident that "spreading freedom" was making life difficult for Armed Forces recruiters, neocon scribe Max Boot suggested filling the military with illegal immigrants—"Open up recruiting stations from Budapest to Bangkok, Cape Town to Cairo, Montreal to Mexico City. ... Call it the Freedom Legion."

Not surprisingly, the grand-strategist-cum-social-engineer didn't get much traction. Now he's back with another bright idea for making up the shortfall: send in the girls and the gays. Writing in the *Los Angeles Times*, Boot asks, "Are [conservatives] more concerned with

winning the culture wars at home or winning the war on terrorism abroad? ... In the struggle against Islamic fanatics, we can't afford to turn volunteers away."

Indeed, if the Right would drop its squeamish aversion to women in combat and priggish allegiance to "don't ask, don't tell," we could invade even more countries—and better accessorize those drab fatigues.

[ECONOMICS]

IF IT FEELS GOOD ...

Consider your next trip to the mall an act of global charity. According to Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas President Richard Fisher, "Where would the world be if Americans did not live out their proclivity to consume everything that looks good, feels good, sounds good, tastes good? We provide a service for the rest of the world. If we were running a current account surplus or trade surplus, what would happen to economic growth worldwide and what would be the economic consequences? I think we are doing our duty there."

Pardon us, Mr. Fisher, but if your concern for "economic growth worldwide" comes at the strength of the dollar, the vitality of our manufacturing base, and the standard of living for our workers, "what would be the economic consequences"? Here. At home. Or were you so busy doing your duty by the world that you forgot your own zip code?

[EDUCATION]

SPELLING MAID E-Z

Millions of people are functionally illiterate—and it's because the English language is just too hard. So says the Simplified Spelling Society, which sent members to picket the National Spelling Bee in Washington, D.C. These earnest English-simplifiers, some of them from as far away as New Zealand (where the local chapter is called Spell 4 Literacy),

were there to protest the corruption of the "alphabetic principle." If a word sounds a certain way, that's how it should be spelled. Potato, potatoe, let's call the hole thing off.

It's tempting to laff at such people, but give them some time. You never know—or is that "no"?—when an education-policy wonk will see this as a good way to boost test scores.

[IMMIGRATION]

SUMMERTIME BLUES

From bagging groceries to pumping gas, the summer job has long been a rite of passage, a teen's first taste of the workaday world. Not only did it direct idle energy, but even modest pay could become a first car or college tuition. No longer. The very things that qualified students for summer employment—a lack of skill and experience that made them willing to work menial jobs for minimum wage—mean immigrants are even better candidates. They aren't going back to school in the fall, don't come equipped with trademark teenage insolence, and their parents won't complain if employers bark at them.

According to Northeastern University's Center for Labor Market Studies, only 36 percent of those aged 16-19 found work last summer—the lowest rate since 1948. And this year looks no better. "Normally, 20 months into the jobs recovery teenagers would not only gain jobs, but they would begin to gain disproportionately," said study author Andrew Sum. "This time around they've got zero."

Millions of immigrants have got something, however. Remember those "jobs Americans won't do"? For a few months every year they are a coveted ticket to the Clearasil set's top prize—*independence*—and with each passing summer there are fewer kids trimming hedges, corralling shopping carts, and growing up. ■

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The Empire Finds a New Adversary

“This war represents the German revolution, a greater political event than the French revolution of the last century. ... There is not a diplomatic tradition which

has not been swept away. You have a new world. ... The balance of power has been entirely destroyed ...” So said Disraeli after Prussia had led a coalition of German states to crush France in 1870, after which the Prussian King had been crowned Kaiser of Germany at Versailles.

Disraeli recognized what others did not. Bismarck’s Germany was first power in Europe. And Britain’s balance-of-power policy—always support the weaker coalition against the stronger in Europe—would bring England into conflict with Germany.

British and Teutonic blunders would lead the British Empire, the premier but receding power of the early 20th century, into 10 years of war against the rising power, Germany. Both nations would end those wars finished as great powers forever.

To see America, dominant power of its era and, like Britain a century ago, a sea power and a world power, growing alarmed at the rise of the greatest land power in Asia is to see yesterday coming around again today. “Rumsfeld Issues a Sharp Rebuke to China on Arms,” read the headline in the *New York Times* of June 4. “Sees a Broad Risk to Asia” ran the subhead.

The lead: “Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, in an unusually blunt public critique of China, said Saturday that Beijing’s military spending threatens the delicate security balance in Asia ...

“In a keynote address at an Asian security conference here, Mr. Rumsfeld argued that China’s investment in mis-

siles and up-to-date military technology posed a risk not only to Taiwan and to American interests, but also to nations across Asia...”

Rumsfeld’s remarks call to mind the British alarms at the German High Seas Fleet in the early 20th century. This can only be aimed at us, said the British Admiralty, not incorrectly.

China, in its purchases from France, Israel, and Russia of air-to-air and anti-ship missiles and submarines and its buildup of 600 rockets opposite Taiwan, appears to be preparing for a showdown with its breakaway province and for a possible war off the China coast with some great sea power. Is there another out there?

Before the United States goes down this road, we might ask ourselves: where do you suppose China got the hundreds of billions of dollars to make itself the most formidable power in Asia? Might it not be from the huge trade surpluses (\$160 billion in 2004), Beijing runs annually with an America that shovels cash, high-tech jobs, and manufacturing plants into China at a prodigious rate?

As for Taiwan, the handwriting has been on the wall since Kissinger negotiated the Shanghai Communique of 1972, which said that all Chinese agree Taiwan is a part of China and America does not dispute it. This was followed by Carter’s break with Taipei and termination of the U.S.-Taiwan security pact and the Reagan commitment to phase out military assistance.

We cannot walk the cat back now. And while the United States is obliged

under the Taiwan Relations Act to come to the defense of the island, the reality is that China grows more powerful *vis-à-vis* the United States and Taiwan, in real and relative terms, every year.

Beijing sees us bogged down in Afghanistan and Iraq, at odds with the Islamic world, alienated from allies, hectoring Russia over democracy and human rights, while Reagan’s 600-ship Navy vanishes and America can no longer fill recruitment goals for an Army that is half as large as it was at the end of the Cold War.

At the end of the 19th century, Britain found herself with two imperial rivals, Russia and France, and three ambitious and rising powers: Germany, Japan, and the United States. With wise British diplomacy, she allied with or appeased all of them—but Germany. But though Germany did not threaten British vital interests and did not want war with Britain, Britain decided she must go to war with Germany rather than let her defeat France.

History seems to confirm that the wisest course for a satiated but receding empire, like Britain in 1900 and America today, is the policy of Lord Salisbury. He drew a red line about his nation and empire’s vital interests, and practiced “splendid isolation” from the power blocs and power politics of Europe.

America needs to begin the agonizing reappraisal of foreign-policy commitments we did not do at the end of the Cold War and begin to shed them all, save those that involve vital U.S. interests. And around them, we should draw our red line.

Is saving Taiwan from the fate of Hong Kong worth a war with China? One day, this is what the question will come down to. ■

[open sewer]

Tragedy of the Commons

The cultural filth American families can't avoid

By Gil Reavill

IN NEW YORK CITY in the early 1980s, when I first entered into it, the world of commercial sex was tawdry and downscale, a Petri dish of percolating microbes and disturbed obsessions.

I loved it.

Then again, I was a twentysomething male, and twentysomething males are such tortured and bizarre anti-exemplars of the human race almost to deserve their own subspecies.

I was raised in the Midwest. A few miles from my hometown there's a granite geological survey marker that locates the exact center of the northern half of the western hemisphere. Middle America precisely. My mother was a kindergarten teacher. My father was a traveling salesman. Ample material against which to rebel, and as soon as I could I hitched up my jeans and hitched on out of there. The country boy coming to the big city is an old story. I fulfilled the wet-behind-the-ears image in Stevie Wonder's song "Living for the City," where the rube gawks, "New York—skyscrapers and everything!"

After huddling depressed and alone in my spider hole of an apartment for a few months, I stumbled across a want ad in the *Village Voice* that said there was an editorial position open at a "controversial Village weekly." Visions of crusading muckraking journalists dancing in my head, I found myself in the Fourteenth

Street offices of Al Goldstein's *Screw* magazine.

Like most teenage boys, I had found my way to porn, but in an R-rated sort of way, not an X-rated hard-core way. The first issue of *Screw* I saw that day in 1981 made me physically ill. The rag's back pages were filled with ads for prostitutes, for which Goldstein charged the same rate as the *New York Times* charged for its advertising. *Screw* fulfilled the basic function of a pimp. The front editorial half of *Screw* presented itself as serious redeeming social content: broad-brush sexual satire, witless aggrandizement of publisher Goldstein, and rickety reportage about Manhattan's commercial sex scene. The feature article in the first issue I picked up detailed the phenomenon of "she-male" prostitutes, gender-bending preoperative transsexuals.

I stared at the pathetic publication in my hand. Had I really sunk so low? I didn't react to the sexual content so much as the depressing cheesiness of it, the low-rent stench it gave off. I had always declared my allegiance to what H.G. Wells calls the "jolly coarseness" of life, but there didn't seem much that was joy here.

The staff members were all my age—attractive, hip New Yorkers, cynical, smart, and funny. Talking to them, my initial queasiness began to fade. I sud-

denly recognized my place. It was a college newspaper, an underground newspaper. My bohemia. Rejection of the hypocritical, straitlaced, middle-class prudery of my parents' generation. I could live with that.

The next week I got two job offers. One was from a trade magazine called *Floor Covering Weekly*. The other was from *Screw*. I hesitated. That was the extent of my innocence.

The world has changed. Back when I worked in smut, sexually explicit material was fairly well segregated. Those who wanted to consume it had actively to search it out. Since then, the ways in which we can access smut have multiplied staggeringly, exponentially, absurdly, but I can still feel strongly that keeping sexually explicit material contained and separate is the right thing to do.

It offends me that so many people who dislike smut are getting it shoved in their faces. This strikes me as a tad undemocratic. No pornographication without representation. It's the cultural equivalent of secondhand smoke. I think adults should be able to use tobacco, just as I am all for adults being able to access sexually explicit material if they want it. But when we get hit with secondhand smoke—or secondhand smut—without being asked, I am offended for myself, for other people, and for the children among us.

I don't entertain the same feckless attitude today that I did back then. I have put away the toys of my youth, which included a particular brand of arrogance that delights in offending others. Part of the change is that I became a father. "In dreams begin responsibilities," says the poet Delmore Schwartz, and one of my dreams is that my daughter will grow up in a world that's less trashy than the one I see around me.

Although I didn't realize it, I had gotten in on the ground floor of a business that would boom incredibly over the next quarter century, until it would become one of the largest and most vibrant sectors of the American economy. More people view porn on any given day than watch sports.

"Smut" is a word derived from the German, and it means, very simply, "dirt." I use it knowing that it will open up counterarguments along the lines of "Sex isn't dirty! Sex is a beautiful, natural part of life." Sorry, Earth Mother. I'm not talking about human sexuality, the bountiful, mysterious, life-enhancing gift. I'm talking about the cheap-thrill

I do not accept sex as the dominant obsession of our media, entertainment, and advertising. I do not accept being cynically manipulated by sexual images for profit. I do not accept the private sexuality of others invading my public space.

I am a staunch believer in the First Amendment. I am a member of the American Civil Liberties Union. I would never advocate any element of government control of human expression.

The problem is that for a lot of people, the argument ends there. No law limiting free speech, they parrot over and over, as if that's all there is to say. But there is a whole boatload of things to say about balance and moderation, about segregating sexual expression from the public commons, about civil discourse and its discontents.

What happens if we agree to the proposition "No government censorship" but still want to talk about changing the kind of world we live in? What happens if we say "No censorship" but still want to continue the conversation?

Let me sketch out a day I spent with my middle-school-age daughter. It started with an episode of a "tween"

I looked at my daughter, who gazed at the tube with the vacant-eyed look that is, if statistics about TV watching are right, the most common facial expression in America.

A commercial interrupted the seven-year-old lap dancers. A trailer for "The Girl Next Door," the latest theatrical movie from Fox about to open. "I want to see that," my daughter said. The plot involves a porn star moving in next door to a teenage boy. Why are they advertising an R-rated movie on a program aimed at 12-year-olds?

Later, we got into the car for a drive, my wife in front next to me, my daughter in back with her beloved iBook laptop. She had just received the computer as a present for her birthday and had already downloaded 75 songs. My wife and I were talking, not really paying attention to what was going on in the backseat, when I heard my daughter mouthing the words to D12's hit "My Band," featuring Eminem, who was born Marshall Mathers. "I swear to f***n' God," my 12-year-old sang, "Dude, you f***n' rock. Please, Marshall, please let me s**k your c**k."

"What was that?" I asked, twisting my head around and almost running off the road. It turned out she had downloaded "My Band" from the Internet, where there was a choice of a cleaned-up version (which she is allowed) and the unbleeped version (which she is not allowed). My wife and I fell asleep at the switch.

So within the course of one hour of one very ordinary day, I had been treated to a vision of seven-year-old fanny slappers, a sex professional taking up neighborhood residence, and groupies begging for oral sex. My family had been "culture-whipped."

In today's media climate, whether we want it or not, we are inundated, saturated, beaten over the head with sex. Television, our national public commons, has an ever-mounting percentage

I HAD GOTTEN IN ON THE GROUND FLOOR OF A **BUSINESS THAT WOULD BOOM INCREDIBLY OVER THE NEXT QUARTER CENTURY. MORE PEOPLE VIEW PORN ON ANY GIVEN DAY THAN WATCH SPORTS.**

onslaught of prime-time television. I'm talking about the dark Satanic porn mills of the Internet. Sex is like sand on the beach—one thing when it's lying around sparkling in the sun, quite another when it's kicked in your face.

So "smut" means "dirt." The word "decency," on the other hand, is related to the Greek *dekamai*, which means "I accept." "Indecency," then, can be seen as indicating nonacceptance.

I do not accept.

sitcom—a show targeted for kids between the ages of nine and 12. I passed through the room where my daughter was watching the program and happened to catch a scene where seven-year-old girls tried out a new cheerleading routine.

"Shake it, shake it, shake it," the seven-year-olds squeaked, sticking out their fannies, slapping them and then reacting as if they'd just touched a hot stove.

of explicit content on cable, shading down to the mere leering double entendre and snickering innuendo of broadcast sitcoms.

I am reminded of Groucho Marx, who once had a guest on his interview program "You Bet Your Life," a woman who said she had nine children and that she and her husband liked it.

"I like my cigar," Groucho responded, "but I take it out of my mouth every once in a while."

In today's culture, the cigar has been surgically stapled to our lips. We can't take it out of our mouths at all, much less every once in a while.

My friend Don runs a swimming-pool service in a suburb of Phoenix. He has two children and a wife he loves. Politically, he would land left of center on most any scale. But talking with him, I find Don deeply uneasy about the current cultural atmosphere. He speaks longingly of "getting out," finding a cabin somewhere, and living a back-to-the-land life with his family. He's not a prude, he's not a fundamentalist. He's just angry about the stuff he is forced to swallow whenever he turns on the television, drives in a car with the radio on, or goes to the movies. Sometimes I catch him a little sad that out of all possible worlds we could have created, this is the one we've settled on. Out of the great and groovy achievements we could have accomplished, it has all come down to "The Swan," porn pop, and Bubba the Love Sponge.

A lot of times, Don blames me. I used to trot out my First Amendment arguments to him. I don't do that anymore, but he's still throwing them back at me. It's not about free speech. It's about choice.

My friend Don doesn't really have a choice about the kind of world he lives in. The overheated, reverse-puritanical, trivialized sexuality of 21st-century America is forever being shoved down

his throat. He's not as glamorous a cause as, say, James Joyce or Vladimir Nabokov. But there are a lot of people like him.

A Kaiser Family Foundation poll found that 60 percent of parents feel uncomfortable with the levels of exposure their children get to sex in the media. Six of ten. If there is general agreement among the Disturbed Six-in-Tenners that the tone of our culture has become too trashy, why can't we adjust that tone to be more in line with our attitudes? The answer lies in the existence

"I'M A FIRST AMENDMENT ABSOLUTIST." I USED TO SAY. IT WASN'T TRUE, OF COURSE. THE FIRST AMENDMENT'S GUARANTEES AREN'T ABSOLUTE AT ALL. THEY HAVE ASTERISKS, EXCEPTIONS, AND QUID PRO QUOS STICKERED ALL OVER THEM.

of a group of people who dominate all political, legal, and social discourse in this country: the Chattering Class.

I am a member of this group. I am, by registering my disgust at the tone of the culture, a traitor to my class. Although at various times in my life I have done factory work, milked cows, and waited tables, for the bulk of my adult years I have earned my living by convincing others of my superior word-shuffling skills.

The Chattering Class is one reason this country is a successful, interesting, and great place to live. It tells us our collective bedtime stories and comes up with our punch lines. It soothes us in times of trouble, entertains us with an almost antic energy, and provides meaning and depth to our lives.

For members of the Chattering Class, the sanctity of free speech is an unshakable article of faith. We're a group of people who literally live by the word, so we are sensitive about any limits placed on speech. We interpret that as an assault on our way of making a living.

"I'm a First Amendment absolutist." I used to say. It wasn't true, of course. The First Amendment's guarantees aren't absolute at all. They have asterisks, exceptions, and quid pro quos stickered all over them. But any proposed encroachment on the Chattering Class's absolute right to say, howl, rant, or bellow whatever enters its fervid mind is greeted with instant and frantic rejection. "Censor!"

The Chattering Class lives in a stark, us-versus-them world. One side are the Philistines, the prudes, the puritans, the

fingershakers, Andrew Comstock and Carrie Nation and self-consciously moral hypocrites like Jimmy Swaggart and Jim Bakker. Lumped on that side, too, are soccer moms and suburban dads of the workaday world.

Ranged on the opposite side are the champions of freedom, crusaders for the rights of humankind, acidly funny misfits like H.L. Mencken, Allen Ginsberg, Lenny Bruce, and Howard Stern.

The line to be drawn has nothing to do with boundaries of taste, decorum, or moderation. The real line is one of the most brutal, unforgiving, and shape-shifting lines of all—the line between cool and uncool. I know people who would rather die than be seen wearing the wrong brand of jeans.

But let's lift the question out of the realm of personal insecurities. Isn't one of the bedrock foundations of American democracy, of every one of the world's religions, of liberalism and compassionate conservatism, actually the same concept: for the weak and against the strong?

The young are the weakest members of any community, relying on others for sustenance and well-being. In this country, too, the overtly religious, the decorous, the modest, and easily offended among us have been effectively marginalized, weakened to the point of invisibility in our stampede to create an all-sex, all-the-time culture. Who speaks for the very young and wholly marginalized against massive combinations of profit that have built billion-dollar industries using human sexuality as their tool?

Circle back to those Disturbed Six-in-Tenners. Rarely does that big a chunk of the American populace agree about anything. We might want to commemorate the occasion by doing something about

decide to be hermits, we can't shut off this assault on our public spaces. In fashion, on magazine covers, and on billboards, indecent sexual content intrudes into our lives whether we choose it or not.

There are voluntary ways to stop this. Retailers can provide a spectrum of fashions. Magazine publishers can put anything they want on their covers, but in public display sexual content needs to be masked or shrink-wrapped. And billboard companies must operate on a strict G-rated-content-only policy.

This all might sound like a utopian dream, given the current state of our public commons, but small efforts by ordinary people have paid big dividends.

on the public dime, over the public airwaves, or in the public commons. Howard Stern was chased from the public airwaves and set up shop on the subscription-only Sirius satellite network. This is a consummation devoutly to be wished, since it would allow those who want to hear these geniuses ample opportunity to do so, while sparing the rest of us sex talk in the early a.m. The public commons would be better for it.

My personal experience is relevant because it looks as though we are enshrining smut as a central part of our culture. We're giving it pride of place in our public commons, and I don't believe that's healthy, necessary, or bright. It's a species of civic laziness.

Smut has somehow gained status as the primary vehicle of our sexuality. It has become the most common way for adolescents to be introduced to sex—and not via the airbrushed nudity of *Playboy* but via the aggressive, raw-edged sexuality of the Internet. "A widespread taste for pornography," says the writer J.G. Ballard, probably putting too much thought into it, "means that nature is alerting us to some threat of extinction."

I'm a concerned father, but I'm a concerned human being too. Even a cursory survey of the media landscape reveals a world so clearly out of balance that the final effect is dizzying—and nauseating.

We need a voluntary effort to reshape that culture. It's that simple—and that difficult. We need to do this for our children, yes, but also need to accomplish it for ourselves. ■

Gil Reavill writes about true crime for Maxim and has a cultural column in Penthouse. This piece is taken from Smut: A Sex-Industry Insider (and Concerned Father) Says Enough Is Enough by arrangement with Sentinel, a member of the Penguin Group (USA) Inc. Copyright Gil Reavill, 2005.

MY EXPERIENCE IS RELEVANT BECAUSE IT LOOKS AS THOUGH **WE ARE ENSHRINING SMUT AS A CENTRAL PART OF OUR CULTURE.** WE'RE GIVING IT PRIDE OF PLACE IN OUR PUBLIC COMMONS, AND **I DON'T BELIEVE THAT'S HEALTHY, NECESSARY, OR BRIGHT.**

it. I don't want six in ten of my neighbors going around very disturbed about anything. It offends my egalitarian principles. Besides, some of these people own weapons.

Here's the kind of culture toward which we need to strive. No legal mandate will do it, but it requires a recognition that this is the best way for human beings to live. I'm with Hannibal Lecter: I consider rudeness to be one of the cardinal human sins. And American popular culture, as we've constructed it, is above all else rude, crude, and lewd.

Like the two main electronic versions of the public commons, television and the Internet, our physical public commons—the public space we pass through every day—is afflicted by an onslaught of sex. The difference is that in public, sexual repressions are unavoidable. We may be able to filter content on TV or the Web, but unless we

"Dear Nordstrom," wrote a Washington-state girl named Ellen Gunderson. "I'm an 11-year-old girl who has tried shopping at your store for clothes in particular sizes. But all of them ride way under my hips and the next size up is too big and it falls down. Your clerk suggests there is only one 'look.' If that is true then girls are supposed to walk around half naked. I think we need to change that."

The company responded, increasing the variety in its offerings. Other retail chains have been convinced in much the same way, and individual efforts might be paying off with an industry-wide shift. "Prim Is In!" declared a recent report on fashion trends, which quoted one fashionista's withering observation, "Baring your bellybutton is so 90s."

Talk about anal sex if you want, prattle about masturbation, or rap about felatio. It's a free country. But don't do it

[where have you gone, Eugene McCarthy?]

How They Get Away With It

Three reasons Washington's empire-builders don't have to worry about '60s-style dissent — not including the volunteer Army

By Scott McConnell

IT WAS SURPRISING how many people seemed to take genuine pleasure in British MP George Galloway's contentious appearance before the Senate Subcommittee on Investigations. He was, after all, only a former left-Labor Party backbencher, a bit pink in his associations. And notwithstanding the vigor of his denials, the nature of his financial relationship to Saddam's Oil for Food program was not entirely cleared up.

But it wasn't Galloway's protestations of innocence or his political character that made his turn noteworthy. What was striking was the sight of a man inside the Senate chamber using the full force of the English language to denounce the pack of lies behind President Bush's Iraq policy. Galloway didn't submit to the Democratic Party script and pretend that the war was due to a "massive intelligence failure," that President Bush was somehow misinformed about Saddam's weapons (or lack of them). He went instead for the jugular of the whole enterprise, reiterating what he had said well before the war—that Iraq had no weapons of mass destruction, no connection to 9/11, no ties to al-Qaeda—and on these crucial points he was right and Sen. Norm Coleman and the other Republicans hoping to milk his testimony for electoral gain were dead wrong. The fruit of their error, Galloway continued, was 100,000 dead, including

1,600 Americans, and another 15,000 U.S. soldiers wounded, many of them permanently maimed—not to mention that the United States now has the worst international image in its history or that the volunteer army can no longer meet its recruiting goals and may have its back broken by the burdens of an extended Iraq occupation.

One never hears words like this spoken in the Senate. A search for successors to William Fulbright or Wayne Morse or Eugene McCarthy or Bobby Kennedy yields only empty chairs. Big-name Democrats scramble for microphone time to denounce as "extremist" judges who are pro-life, but about the fomenters of a foreign policy that is manifestly extremist, they fall into timid silence. Howard Dean, the reputed mad dog of last year's primaries, has turned toy poodle as head of Democratic National Committee, full of fighting barbs about Tom DeLay's ethics but silent about a war that is hardly despised by his party's big donors. It took a Brit to remind Americans turning on the evening news what it might be like to have an opposition party.

The failure of Americans to generate a politically significant domestic opposition to the war is now one of the most important developments in world politics. It means that the Bush administration can contemplate, without any fear

of adverse domestic political consequences, expansion of its war to Syria or a large-scale bombing of Iran. The only constraints on its behavior are international.

In the year and a half after September 2001, observant outsiders could intuit much about the administration's plans. It was clear that the neoconservatives around Cheney and Rumsfeld wanted war not only against Iraq but against six or seven countries in the Middle East. Details were filled in by memoirs such as Richard Clarke's and the reporting of Bob Woodward. The recent publication of the so-called Downing Street memorandum, recording the minutes of a meeting of Tony Blair's top advisors in July 2002, confirms that Bush had already decided upon war and that "the intelligence and facts were being fixed around the policy." The British document indicates that Bush was lying outright when he told the Congress, in the fall of 2002, "I hope the use of force will not become necessary," that "if Iraq is to avoid military action ... it has the obligation to prove compliance with all the world's demands," and further, that the United States would go to war only "as a last resort." The Iraqis at that point had no way to avoid Bush's invasion, despite the fact that, in denying that they had any WMD, they were, in the words of U.S. weapons inspector David Kay, "telling the truth."

Not only was the administration silent about the Blair memorandum, a silence that confirmed its contents, but the rest of the political class ignored it as well—save for Congressman John Conyers and a rump group in the House. There were no major antiwar demonstrations this spring, no campuses shut down by protest, no marches on Washington big enough to notice. In the capital itself, a journalist can go to cocktail parties full of foreign-policy establishment types, all prudently opposed to the war, their talk spiked by witticisms about the failings and hypocrisy of the Bushites. But none are public about it, and the realists now say that an American assault on Iran is a virtual certainty.

For someone who grew up in the 1960s, when protests against the Vietnam War dominated the culture, the question that raises its head almost every day is, “How do they get away with it?” Of course, the wars are different: Vietnam, however much Kennedy and Johnson erred in terms of overestimating what U.S. Armed Forces could accomplish in Southeast Asia, at least corresponded to a general strategy of containment and of maintaining the

In terms of the domestic climate, one key difference is the absence of a draft: we fight in Iraq with a volunteer Army, working-class in origin—men and women who may have signed up originally for good pay and benefits or the possibility of a college education they couldn’t otherwise afford. The professional class is hardly represented, the political class not at all. Unlike the 1960s, the children of the establishment don’t have to calculate how they will avoid service or maneuver to find safe spots in the National Guard. This changes the political atmosphere on campus considerably, where there is now as much a likelihood of unrest about something to do with gays and lesbians or the wages of janitors as an aggressive war.

But three other developments, of impact perhaps even greater than the absence of a draft, make a culture of protest harder to sustain than it was in the 1960s.

The first is a different, less industrial, more service-oriented and more globalized American economy, which produces as great a change in the way citizens think about economic life as it does

required admission ticket for any kind of upward mobility. So there was no burden on parents to worry about how they were going to afford college for their children—at least in comparison to today. Similarly, no one seemed to worry about health insurance; medicine could obviously accomplish less, but the United States was in that interlude between the time when a family could get wiped out by the costs of a child’s long-term illness and the present, when the cost of health insurance and the fear of losing it weighs on the calculations of nearly everyone in the middle and lower classes.

In the 1960s, therefore, a huge proportion of Americans felt little fear of losing their jobs. In affluent America, one could “drop out” of the regular career train—many did for reasons more cultural than political—and then rejoin the rat race at the time and place of one’s choosing. Those who dropped out didn’t fear slipping into poverty. For those with reasonable modern-economy skills, lower-middle-class jobs were there for the asking—and there was no reserve army of desperate Latin Americans ready to work for almost any price. This was a political economy that not only allowed dissent, but indeed one that seemed to make it, in economic terms, nearly cost-free. The contrast with the present day—where one hears continually from those with a stake in the middle-class that dissent is something only the wealthy (or very poor) can afford—could not be more striking.

A second reason for the low ebb of dissent is an attitudinal shift in the American Jewish community, particularly among those active politically, a shift exemplified by the rise of neoconservatism. It is clear to anyone remotely interested in the question that the Old Left (the American Communist Party and its related organizations) was in great part Jewish, the New Left in great

UNLIKE THE 1960S, THE CHILDREN OF THE ESTABLISHMENT DON'T HAVE TO CALCULATE HOW THEY WILL **AVOID SERVICE OR FIND SAFE SPOTS** IN THE NATIONAL GUARD. THIS **CHANGES THE POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE ON CAMPUS** CONSIDERABLY.

existing East-West boundaries. On the borders of the Cold War, divided states like Germany and Korea had become a kind of norm, and the United States was protecting in South Vietnam a weak and unstable status quo. Iraq was clearly something completely different: a war initiated under the falsehood that Saddam Hussein had something to do with 9/11 and clearly in violation of international law.

in the goods they consume. The United States of the 1960s was “The Affluent Society” in the John Kenneth Galbraith phrase, and it was a secure affluence. Tens of millions of relatively well-compensated manufacturing jobs were available, it seemed, for anyone willing to take them. You were supposed to finish high school, and a diploma was necessary to get a secure job, but a college diploma was not yet what it is now—the

part the direct offspring of the Old. Without the radical Jewish children of radical parents, there would have been no early SDS, no Free Speech Movement at Berkeley, no New York kids going South for Freedom Rides to turn the civil-rights movement into a matter of

A third way in which the America is a very different country today can be traced to the political transformation of American Protestantism. In his outstanding book *The New American Militarism*, Andrew Bacevich describes how evangelicals—who once were

EVANGELICALS HAVE IN GREAT PART **TRANSFORMED THE CHRISTIAN VIEW OF JUST WAR INTO A CRUSADE THEORY** IN WHICH THE **UNITED STATES** IS BELIEVED TO **EMBODY GOD'S WILL** AND ITS ENEMIES ARE **"GOD'S ENEMIES."**

national conscience. By the late 1960s, the Left was more ethnically diverse, but young Jewish radicals had been its leavening agent.

The Jewish turn from the New Left, marked by such signposts as the collapse of the black-Jewish alliance in the late 1960s and the recognition that the Pentagon and an airlift ordered by Richard Nixon might have been necessary to Israel's survival in October 1973, may have been a turnabout in the mentality of no more than a few hundred activists and polemicists, but the effect on the political tone of the country shouldn't be underestimated. The political biographies of Marty Peretz and David Horowitz, two emblematic figures of this sea change, with a corresponding shift in the mentality of thousands of politically astute and engaged people in their cohort, had a huge impact on the country's political culture.

Of course, it is true that most American Jews are still politically liberal and a majority now tell pollsters they oppose the Iraq War. But this is beside the point. Nowadays, political passion, engagement, and activism are as likely to be found on the Jewish Right—at least a Right favoring a pro-war, pro-imperialist (and very pro-Israel) foreign policy—as they are on the Left. Nothing could be more different from 1968.

both politically quiescent and skeptical of the culture that surrounded military life—came, in the wake of Vietnam, to embrace the military as a sort of bulwark against national moral decay. With the corresponding decline in political numbers and influence of the mainline Protestant churches, this increased energy on the evangelical Right changed dramatically the way most American Christians regard war. In the hands of evangelicals, Just War principles became, in Bacevich's words, "not a series of stringent tests but a signal: not a red light, not even a flashing yellow, but a bright green that relieved the Bush administration of any obligation to weigh seriously the moral implications of when and where it employed coercion."

And thus, in the developed world's most devout country, Christian witness against war "became less effective than in countries thoroughly and probably irreversibly secularized." Evangelicals have in great part transformed the Christian view of Just War into a crusade theory in which the United States is believed to embody God's will and its enemies are "God's enemies."

For those yearning for a revival of a peace movement that might slow down this administration, there is nothing reassuring about this analysis. It is far

from clear that even the revival of the draft could ignite the kind of campus protest that would make an impression on Congress and the administration. Where would the leaders of campus protest come from? For if they are less likely, given the rise of neoconservatism, to come from ranks of activist Jews, it is even more implausible to imagine them emerging from the remains of the WASP establishment, whose children are not the academic and social leaders on the nation's elite campuses. It is perhaps only slightly more likely to come from the new Asian immigrant groups, who are generally still focused on professional advancement or purely ethnic concerns. And only the wooliest of neo-Marxist romantics can see it emerging from the poor or working classes.

In the absence of an antiwar movement or serious domestic political opposition, only the outside world can put the brakes on American policy—only when Bush's war plans come up against foreign obstacles that produce a dramatic defeat or humiliation or generate a financial crisis that the administration can't overcome. Barring that, the American future may be war for as long as anyone can foresee. ■



[sources say]

Deep Throat's Ghost

The Mark Felt I knew acted more out of personal pique than moral principle.

By Ralph de Toledano

WHO WAS DEEP THROAT? For some three decades that question echoed when Watergate, the scandal that drove a president out of the White House in disgrace, was chewed over. Bob Woodward and Carl Bernstein, the *Washington Post* reporters who wrote the shattering and marathon exposé of the scandal, gave Deep Throat as the major source of the sensational stories that forced Richard Nixon's resignation and brought down his administration. But they categorically refused to disclose his identity, except to say that he was an official in the executive branch who had access to the evidence. But so wide-ranging were Deep Throat's disclosures that it was often assumed he was a composite—amazing in a city where a state secret is something you heard in the Metropolitan Club bar.

Unexpectedly, the secret is out. Deep Throat is Mark Felt, assistant director and second-in-command of the FBI at the time, and who in the late 1970s had been indicted, tried, and convicted for authorizing wiretaps and illegal entries against the Weather Underground and other domestic terrorist groups. Prior to his trial, he had published an exculpatory memoir, *The FBI Pyramid*, largely written by me since his original manuscript read like *The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table*.

Contrary to legend, J. Edgar and Richard M. thoroughly disliked each

other, though they kept their feelings under wraps. Following his usual custom of trying to keep new presidents off-balance, Hoover sent Mark Felt to investigate trumped-up charges by political gossip columnist Jack Anderson that John Ehrlichman, a Nixon adviser, was a homosexual. Ehrlichman was cleared, but from that moment Felt had him in his pocket, and the president had it in for Felt.

When Hoover died, Felt served for one day as acting director. But when it was suggested that Felt take over Hoover's job, Nixon was emphatically against it. Felt was "a bad guy," Nixon said. "I don't want him. I want a fellow in there that is not part of the old guard." Instead, he

Ehrlichman was reporting White House cover-up activities to Felt, and he had been told that Felt was leaking to the *Washington Post* and to *Time*.

But there was a curious twist to Felt's behavior. Secretly violating his oath of office, he was playing a double game, hoping that in seeming to play up to the White House he would be appointed FBI director. There was a plan to have Deputy CIA Director Vernon Walters lean on Pat Gray and tell him, "Stay the hell out of this"—to call off the FBI's investigation. There were indications that Mark Felt would lend his support to this plan. Gray would then call Felt in and say, "We've got the signal from across the river [the CIA] to put the hold on this."

MARK FELT WROTE HIS BOOK. I RE-WROTE IT AND **FELT SWORE TO ME THAT HE WAS NOT DEEP THROAT**, THAT HE HAD NEVER LEAKED INFORMATION.

appointed L. Patrick Gray III, a Justice Department official. When the scandal began to build, Bob Haldeman, Nixon's chief of staff, complained, "the FBI is not under control because Pat Gray doesn't exactly know how to control it." Felt was running the investigation, and it was "leading into some productive areas" and getting much too close to home. Everything that FBI agents were turning up was in Felt's hands. Moreover, Haldeman suspected, and he was correct, that

Felt resigned. The White House believed he would never go public. "No one likes an informer," Nixon said. But the case had by then developed its own momentum, the Oval Office tapes had been discovered, and Congress was moving decisively.

Mark Felt wrote his book. I re-wrote it and Felt swore to me that he was not Deep Throat, that he had never leaked information to the Woodward-Bernstein team or anyone else. The book was pub-

lished—and bombed. Felt was tried and convicted in his own scandals. Ironically, ex-President Nixon contributed to the defense of the man who had helped mightily to bring him down and testified at his trial. And Ronald Reagan later pardoned him.

More than a year ago, Mark Felt Jr. called me from Florida. He wished to revise *The FBI Pyramid* and add new unspecified material. Since I held 50 percent of the copyright, Mark Felt's lawyer, John O'Connor, who was to reveal Deep Throat's identity, offered to buy me out, though the book at the time had little sales potential. This puzzled me, but I signed over my rights. But the plan to spring Felt's identity must have hit a snag. I received no check, and my protesting letters and calls were ignored. My final letter to O'Connor rescinded the sale and threatened suit. This too was ignored. Then a month ago, out of the blue, I received a check, timed to arrive before the great revelation, "completing" the now non-existent deal. Something clearly was afoot, I realized, and so it was—an article in *Vanity Fair* by the aforesaid John O'Connor disclosing that Mark Felt had been Deep Throat. What I had not been told about when I sold my share of a dead and forgotten book was page-one news and grist for the TV mill. The Deep Throat disclosure had been the Felt-O'Connor ace in the hole and *The FBI Pyramid* was now a valuable property.

I had been gloriously and illegally deceived, and Deep Throat was in characteristic style back in business—which, given his history of betrayal, was par for the course. ■

Ralph de Toledano is a former editor of Newsweek and the author or editor of over 20 books, including Notes From the Underground: the Whittaker Chambers-Ralph de Toledano Letters, 1949-1960.

Press accounts concerning Jordanian terrorist Abu Mu'sab al-Zarqawi's reported wounding in Iraq have been contaminated by psychological-warfare operations being run by the Pentagon,

which include a bogus Internet *jihadi* site that provided alleged details regarding his whereabouts and condition. The site claimed that Zarqawi had been shot in the lung and was traveling with two doctors in a "neighboring country." Those details are invented and may be designed to justify Special Forces incursions into Syria and Iran. To reassure his concerned supporters, Zarqawi has responded to the widely reported accounts of his wounding with an Internet audiotape claiming that he is recovering. Zarqawi, whose voice on the tape appears authentic, directed some of his comments to Osama bin Laden, claiming that there will be a series of new attacks against the Americans and Shi'ite Iraqis. The tape emphasizes that Zarqawi himself is back in charge, suggesting that al-Qaeda will be unlikely to nominate a replacement for him. The recording does not reveal anything about the severity of Zarqawi's wounds, but he is almost certainly convalescing in an al-Qaeda safehouse inside Iraq.



The effectiveness of Zarqawi's group, "al-Qaeda in the Land of the Two Rivers," is increasing in spite of its leader's debilities.

May was the bloodiest month yet in Iraq. Seventy-seven American soldiers and Marines died together with 870 Iraqis. Zarqawi's jihadis claimed responsibility for many of the most devastating suicide-bomber attacks. It is apparent that al-Qaeda has grown far beyond the small group of "holy warriors" who infiltrated into Iraq shortly after the fall of Baghdad to coalition forces, and Osama bin Laden is reported to be pouring in funds and volunteers to strengthen and expand the insurgency. Bin Laden has long viewed Iraq as a suitable battleground on which to inflict a major defeat on the Americans, similar to the campaign he waged against the Soviets in Afghanistan.



Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld is exploiting the reported medical condition of Zarqawi to ratchet up the pressure on Syria again.

He has warned that countries neighboring Iraq must not provide the Jordanian terrorist with medical care. Rumsfeld is strengthening a public case for taking more aggressive action against Damascus, even though there is no reliable report of any Syrian support for Zarqawi. Such assistance is not even considered plausible by U.S. intelligence.



An aspect of the Franklin Affair espionage case that has been little remarked upon is the content of the intelligence that was passed to the Israeli Embassy,

which reveals Tel Aviv's heavy involvement in Iraq. Franklin provided information relating to intended Iranian-sponsored attacks against American forces and also "Israeli agents" in Iraq. The agents in question are the numerous Israeli intelligence officers who operate clandestinely against Iran under the American security umbrella, primarily in the Kurdish region. By one estimate, there might be as many as 800 Israelis in the area, both military intelligence and Mossad. The Israelis frequently operate under cover as civilian contractors working ostensibly for the U.S. Defense Department. In some cases, they are using American military bases as their staging areas.

Philip Giraldi, a former CIA Officer, is a partner in Cannistraro Associates.

Who Owns the Dollar?

Our currency and our economy are held hostage by Asia.

By Paul Craig Roberts

CHINA IS THE LEADING scapegoat for America's economic ills. On May 20, *New York Times* columnist Paul Krugman blamed China for the U.S. housing bubble. If only China were not lending us so much money, mortgage rates would be higher, forestalling a housing bubble. Krugman says China is a poor country and should be investing its capital at home, not lending it to the U.S.

Krugman could just as well have said, "If only U.S. manufacturers produced in America instead of outsourcing to China, the Chinese would not have any money to lend us. Thus, no housing bubble."

Krugman is correct that if foreign lending to the U.S. slows, interest rates will rise, putting a speculative housing market in trouble. But the interest of the U.S.-China relationship goes far beyond the effect on the U.S. housing market. Economists set in traditional ways of thinking miss the really important aspects of the relationship.

For example, Krugman notes that China is a poor country and is slowing its own development by lending to the U.S. We do think of China as a Third World country with large supplies of underemployed labor. China's trade relationship with the U.S., however, suggests the opposite. The U.S. trade deficit with China is larger than with any other country, including highly industrialized ones such as Japan and Germany. Think of all those Toyotas, Hondas, Nissans, office machines, and video games that Americans buy from Japan. Yet in the

first quarter of this year, the U.S. trade deficit with China is running 50 percent larger than the deficit with Japan. Indeed, the U.S. trade deficit with China is larger than the deficit with all of Europe. It is larger than with Canada and Mexico combined, two countries in which U.S. corporations manufacture cars, appliances, and a variety of big-ticket items for American markets.

What are Americans buying from China? With China a poor country and the U.S. a First World superpower, you would think China would have a trade deficit as a result of selling us cheap goods and importing high value-added manufactured goods. Instead, it is the other way around. The U.S. is dependent on China for manufactured goods, including advanced technology products. In the first quarter of 2005, U.S.

First World and a Third World country. Moreover, the U.S. trade deficit with China in manufactured goods and advanced technology products is growing rapidly. What explains the U.S. dependence on a poor country for First World products?

The answer, and the key to China's rapid development, is that corporations in First World countries—American businesses chief among them—use China as an offshore location where they produce for their home markets. More than half of U.S. imports from China, and as much as 70 percent from some of China's coastal regions, represent offshore production by American firms for U.S. markets.

What economists overlook is that when we speak of the Chinese economy, we are speaking in large part of the relo-

IN 1985, **U.S. TRADE WITH CHINA WAS IN BALANCE** AT \$3.8 BILLION. TEN YEARS LATER, U.S. IMPORTS FROM CHINA **WERE FOUR TIMES** U.S. EXPORTS TO CHINA.

imports from China are 5.7 times higher than U.S. exports to China. Last year, U.S. exports to China were \$34.7 billion. Imports were \$196.7 billion for a U.S. trade deficit with China of \$162 billion.

It was not always this way. In 1985, U.S. trade with China was in balance at \$3.8 billion. Ten years later, U.S. imports from China were four times U.S. exports to China.

The U.S.-China economic relationship is a highly unusual one between a

cation of American manufacturing to China. Those millions of lost domestic manufacturing jobs were not lost. They were moved. The jobs still exist, only they are not filled by Americans.

In a world where capital and technology are highly mobile internationally, these critical factors of production flow to countries with the lowest cost of labor. China has attracted manufacturing, and India has attracted professional services. This has left the American

work force with job growth only in lower-paid domestic services, which provide no export earnings.

The rapid transformations that have occurred in some Indian cities, which have become high-tech centers, and along the coast of China are unprecedented in economic history. The changes are so rapid because they are driven by the relocation of First World businesses seeking the lowest labor cost.

Economics relies on automatic adjustments to rectify trade imbalances. The trade deficit with China should cause the Chinese currency to appreciate relative to the dollar, raising the dollar cost of Chinese labor. In the long run—in which, J.M. Keynes said, “we are all dead”—adjustments would occur until U.S. and Chinese wage rates and living standards equalized.

Considering the disparity between American and Chinese wage rates and living standards, the adjustment would be extremely painful for Americans. But the adjustment is forestalled by two factors.

China keeps its currency pegged to the dollar, so when the dollar falls, the Chinese currency falls with it and there is no adjustment. China does not permit its currency to be traded, and there is not enough of it in international markets for currency speculators to be able to force the Chinese off the peg.

The other factor is the dollar's role as world reserve currency. The reserve-currency role means that every country has a demand for dollars in order to pay its oil bills and settle its international accounts. The world demand means that the U.S. can run large deficits for many years before the chickens come home to roost.

In the meantime, Asian countries are accumulating hundreds of billions in dollar assets, making them America's bankers. Industrially developed countries such as Japan, Taiwan, and South

Korea have little need to use the dollars that they earn from their trade surpluses with the U.S. to import American capital goods to fuel their further development. They use the dollars that we pay them for their goods to purchase U.S. government bonds and American companies, real estate, and corporate bonds.

China, which has been growing at about 10 percent annually for a number of years, could conceivably use its export surplus with the U.S. to expand its infrastructure more rapidly in order to develop even more quickly. But a 10

OFFSHORE OUTSOURCING MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR THE U.S. TO RECTIFY ITS TRADE IMBALANCE THROUGH EXPORTS.

percent annual growth rate is probably the highest rate of change with which China wants to contend. As First World firms are flooding China with their capital and technology, China doesn't need to use its trade surplus with the U.S. to purchase capital goods.

As a result of many years of persistent trade surpluses with the United States, the Japanese government holds dollar reserves of approximately \$1 trillion. China's accumulation of dollars is approximately \$600 billion. South Korea holds about \$200 billion.

These sums give these countries enormous leverage over the United States. By dumping some portion of their reserves, these countries could put the dollar under intense pressure and send U.S. interest rates skyrocketing. Washington would really have to anger Japan and Korea to provoke such action, but in a showdown with China—over Taiwan, for example—China holds the cards. China and Japan, and the world at large, have more dollar reserves than they require. They would have no problem teaching a hegemonic superpower a lesson if the need arose.

Last year the U.S. trade deficit with the rest of the world was \$617 billion. In the first quarter of this year, our trade deficit is \$174 billion—\$35 billion higher than in the first quarter of last year. If this figure holds for the remaining three quarters and does not increase, the U.S. trade deficit in 2005 will be \$700 billion.

Offshore outsourcing makes it impossible for the U.S. to rectify its trade imbalance through exports. As more and more of the production of goods and services for U.S. markets moves offshore, we have less capability to boost

our exports, and the trade deficit automatically widens. Economic catastrophe at some point in the future seems assured.

In the meantime, even a small country could pop the U.S. housing bubble by dumping dollar reserves—which is some fix for a superpower to be in, especially one that is disdainful of the opinion of the rest of the world. Comeuppance can't be far away.

The hardest blow on Americans will fall when China does revalue its currency. When China's currency ceases to be undervalued, American shoppers in Wal-Mart, where 70 percent of the goods on the shelves are made in China, will think they are in Neiman Marcus. Price increases will cause a dramatic reduction in American real incomes. If this coincides with rising interest rates and a setback in the housing market, American consumers will experience the hardest times since the Great Depression. ■

Paul Craig Roberts was Assistant Secretary of the Treasury under President Reagan.

Israel's Demographic Dilemma

Immigration and birthrates may redefine the Jewish state.

By Leon Hadar

TEL AVIV—They are Hebrew-speaking Israeli citizens who wave the national flag bearing the six-point Star of David. They sing the national anthem that celebrates the return of the Jewish people to their historic homeland. Their kids attend Hebrew public schools and after graduation serve in the Israeli Defense Force. They are proud Israelis who seem an integral part of Hebrew culture and, unlike many Arab citizens of Israel, they don't have any ambivalent feelings about Israeli identity. They are Israeli patriots who love their country and are willing to die for it.

But these Israeli Hebrews are not Jewish. In fact, they are observant Catholics, members of what the Vatican calls the "Hebrew-Speaking Catholic community in Israel." Indeed, recognizing the significance of this small but growing community of Catholics, the late John Paul II announced in 2003 that he was placing beside the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem, Michel Sabbah, an auxiliary bishop with a special task of "the pastoral care of the Catholic faithful of Jewish expression" living in Israel. Jean-Baptiste Gourion, who was ordained as the new bishop at the Catholic Church in Kiryat Ye'arim near Jerusalem, is a converted Sephardic Jew who was born in Algeria, received baptism at the age of 24, became a Benedictine monk, and moved to Israel in 1976. Since 1990, he has been responsible for the pastoral care of the Hebrew Catholics.

The appointment of Father Gourion ("lion cub" in Hebrew) as a Hebrew-speaking Catholic bishop in Israel is cer-

tainly a milestone, considering that since the middle of the second century, no Hebrew Catholic was named a Bishop of Jerusalem. The move ignited opposition among some Catholics who suspected that it was part of a strategy, backed by Israel and its allies in the Vatican, to divide the Church in the Holy Land into two parts, denying its predominantly Arab character and weakening Patriarch Sabbah, an Arab who has been an ardent champion of the Palestinian cause and who resisted the idea of creating within Israel a separate church for Israel's Hebrew-speaking Catholics.

When John Paul II decided to create a special ecclesiastical jurisdiction for the Hebrew Catholics, displeasing Sabbah and other opponents, he was taking the side of one of the leading figures in the debate, Franciscan Fr. David-Maria Jaeger. Jaeger is a canon lawyer who was born to Jewish parents in Tel Aviv and after converting to Christianity became a Catholic priest. In addition to being a spokesman for the Franciscans who govern the holy sites in Jerusalem, he was a lead Vatican negotiator for the historic 1994 agreement between the Holy See and Israel.

Jaeger has been one the first Catholic figures to recognize the dramatic demographic changes that have taken place in Israeli society in recent years, during which as many as 500,000 non-Jews, most of them Christians, have settled in Israel. Most are immigrants from the former Soviet Union, mainly Russia and Ukraine, while others include guest workers from countries like Poland and the Philippines.

Hence, at a time when the number of Christians has fallen sharply in the Holy Land—from 10 percent of the population of the area between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean a century ago to less than 2 percent today (130,000 in Israel and 50,000 in Palestine)—Jaeger and other Catholic leaders have concluded that the Jewish state could become a source of Christian salvation.

Consider the irony: since 1989, more than a million Russian and Ukrainian immigrants have arrived in Israel in what Jews call *aliyah*, the ascent to the Promised Land, with Israeli leaders hoping that the newcomers would help balance the demographic pressure of the rising Arab population on the Jewish state. Similarly, many businesses have imported close to 500,000 guest workers from as far away as China as part of an effort to replace Palestinian workers from the West Bank and Gaza. Now many of these non-Jewish New Israelis could help the Vatican and other Christian denominations contain the demographic pressure that the growing Muslim population is placing on a shrinking Christian community in the Holy Land. God, as they say, works in mysterious ways.

One of the main reasons the Vatican is raising its profile inside Israel is the recognition that many the newcomers from Russia and Ukraine are Orthodox Christians. "This has created an unforeseen opportunity for the initiative of the Catholic Church, which has hastened to send a dozen Russian-speaking and Ukrainian-speaking priests into this new area of evangelization, right in the

middle of Jewish colonies and settlements,” says Elisa Pinna, an expert on international religious issues for the Italian news agency ANSA and author of *The Twilight of Christianity in Palestine*. The crisis over the Greek Patriarchate of Jerusalem, which is paralyzed by internal political disputes and economic problems, has weakened the Orthodox Church’s ability to challenge the energetic efforts of the Catholic Church in the Holy Land. Orthodox religious figures in Israel believe that there are close to 500,000 Christians who have immigrated to Israel from the former Soviet Union, Pinna notes, suggesting, “these new Israeli Christians are even more numerous than the Palestinian Arab Christians.”

In that context, the nomination of a bishop for the Hebrew Catholics helps the Vatican in its competition for the religious allegiance of these Christian citizens of Israel, most of whom are registered as “others” in the Israeli government’s population register. The Catholic Church needs a voice within “Israeli civil society” and a leader who can speak for the culture in its own language, Jaeger told John Allen, the Vatican correspondent for the *National Catholic Reporter*. Noting that the Catholic bishops of Israel are Arabic-speaking and minister largely to the Palestinians, Jaeger said, “It’s as if the only bishops in Spain were Basque, or the only bishops in the United States spoke Navajo Indian.” And suggesting that the Hebrew Catholics and their church could now become an active part in the political and social life of Israel, Jaeger added, “There are important debates going on in Israel right now over labor, over the economy, over family law, and the Church is not part of those debates because it has no voice.” Indeed, Father Gourion, in an interview with *Ha’aretz*, announced that he was planning to “build an Israeli Christian

Church” and to “open new churches where the language of worship will be in Hebrew” and train a new generation of Israeli Catholic priests who “are familiar with the Israeli culture and literature and who will be able to build-up a vibrant Israeli-Christian community.”

Prime Minister Ariel Sharon is probably hoping that Bishop Gourion will emerge as a political counterbalance to the Palestinian Patriarch Sabbah. From that perspective, if the Catholic Church succeeds in evangelizing more of the “others” who reside in Israel, the existence of a community of Hebrew Christians that could conceivably number 100,000 in 10 years could be victory of sorts for the Israeli side in terms of containing the political power of the 180,000 Arab Christians in the Holy Land. But the emergence of a large and vibrant Hebrew-speaking Christian minority, reflecting the changing demographic makeup of Israel, also raises intriguing questions about the identity of Israel as a Jewish state.

Helping create the foundations of a Hebrew Christian minority in the midst of a Jewish majority was not part of the plan designed by the founders of the Zionist movement. As part of the effort to fulfill the Zionist dream of repatriating the Jewish people from the Diaspora and enable the “Ingathering of the Exiles,” the Knesset on July 5, 1950 passed the Law of Return (and related Law of Citizenship), stating that every Jew in the world has the inherent right to settle in Israel as an automatic citizen. The law did not attempt to define the term Jew. A 1970 amendment accorded the right to immigrate to Israel to non-Jews who are either children or grandchildren of a Jew, the spouse of a Jew, or the spouse of a child or grandchild of a Jew. The amendment was intended to accept families where mixed marriages were abundant, thus permitting “others” to immigrate to Israel and acquire automatic citizenship.

At the same time, Palestinian refugees who wish to return to their country of birth are not permitted to do so. That means that Woody Allen and his Korean-American wife, Soon-Yi, have the right to become Israeli citizens in a few days, while the children of an Arab-American born in Haifa do not.

Moreover, a recent amendment to the citizenship law has banned residents of the West Bank and Gaza who are married to Israeli citizens from taking up residence in Israel. The amendment doesn’t explicitly target Arabs—it bans “residents” of the occupied territories married to “Israeli citizens” from acquiring citizenship—but, *Ha’aretz* publisher Amos Schocken argues, it “constitutes harsh discrimination and a violation of the civil rights of Israeli Arabs, for whom the natural reservoir of possible marriage partners includes Palestinians in the territories,” while Jews hardly marry Arabs from the West Bank and Gaza. The law is “a source of harsh discrimination and will exacerbate the boycotting of Israel by the Arab public,” Schocken warns, adding, “A similar decree, if imposed on Jews in any country, would have elicited a harsh Israeli reaction, and justifiably so.” The UN Human Rights Commission has condemned it as racist.

The migration of Arabs from the West Bank and Gaza into Israel, the gradual evolution of a Christian community out of more than a million immigrants from the former Soviet Union, and the influx of thousands of migrant workers has ignited a debate over what Israeli officials call “immigration policy.” A committee formed by Sharon is considering several changes to the immigration laws, including such proposals as limiting the ability of those who are illegally present to obtain legal status in Israel and toughening the conditions required for immigration following marriage between Israeli and non-Israeli citizens.

In fact, what is taking place is a debate over the national identity of Israel and the definition of “Jewish state.” Will Israel be a Jewish state in the same way that Pakistan and Saudi Arabia are Muslim or in the same way that Ireland and Poland are Catholic and Great Britain is Anglican? Will Israel be an exclusive Jewish state, customized theocracy, in which Hebrew-speaking Christians and Arab Muslims and Christians are regarded as second-class citizens, or will Israel become a “normal” Western nation-state in which a Jewish majority is able to absorb into its ranks non-Jews?

The debate is dramatizing the new “demographic threat” facing Israel. Until recently, Israelis referred to that threat when discussing Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, the concern being that unless Israel withdraws from these territories, the Jews could lose their demographic majority in the area between the Jordan and the Mediterranean. But the latest statistics suggest that this may already be reality. According to the most recent official figures, the population of Israel stands at 6.8 million—5.2 million Jews, 1.3 million Arabs, and another 290,000 “others.” The Palestinian population of the Gaza Strip stands at approximately 1.4 million; in the West Bank it is about 2.4 million. There are also 237,185 Palestinians in annexed East Jerusalem. These numbers suggest that the Arab population in the entire Holy Land stands at over 5.3 million, while the Jewish population is 5.2 million. It’s therefore not surprising that most Israeli politicians, including members of Likud, are in agreement on the need to give up most of the West Bank and Gaza. That has less to do with the recognition of Palestinian national rights than the conclusion that only withdrawal could prevent Israel turning into a binational Jewish-Arab state.

But as Israel prepares to withdraw from Gaza, the current concern is that even after a withdrawal from the occupied territories, Israel could face a serious demographic threat. Indeed, the official figures understate the number of non-Jews living inside Israel. To the 290,000 “others” one has to add a large number of immigrants from Russia and Ukraine who have not registered with the Israeli government and some 100,000-500,000 illegal guest workers, suggesting the real number of non-Arab Christians is probably around 500,000. Add to that the 1.3 million Arab-Israeli citizens, the 230,000 Palestinians in East Jerusalem who have not applied for Israeli citizenship, and the estimated 200,000 illegal Palestinian residents living inside Israel, and the number of non-Jews in Israel constitutes more than 30 percent of the population. At the same time, when the Israeli government refers to 5.2 million Jewish citizens of Israel it includes what the official lingo describes as “Israeli citizens living outside the country,” who number 400,000-800,000, most of whom hold dual citizenship.

The Israeli government projection is that by 2025, inside the current borders, 30 percent of the population will be Arab, 5 percent will be “other,” and only 65 percent Jewish. Without a dramatic increase in Jewish *aliyah* to Israel—Sharon seems to hope that economic and political troubles for Jews in Europe and Latin American will produce a massive wave of immigrants—the actual percentage of Jews living in Israel will probably be smaller and that of “others” will probably be higher.

Some Israelis having been toying with the idea that as part of an agreement with an independent Palestinian state, Israel will offer to Palestine large Arab-populated areas inside Israel in exchange for keeping control of some of the Jewish settlements in the West Bank. Another proposal is to encourage

the Arab citizens of Israel to become citizens of the new Palestinian state. Both ideas are considered impractical since the majority of Arab citizens of Israel reject them.

A more realistic scenario for Israel would be to try to absorb the Arab community into Israeli political, economic, and cultural life, something that has already happened in certain fields. Just recently, Abbas Suan, one of the three Arabs on Israel’s national soccer team was hailed by Israelis—Jews and Arabs—as a hero after the understudy midfielder struck a goal in the closing minutes of a World Cup qualifying match against Ireland.

While Arab towns are underfunded compared to Jewish municipalities, many Arabs have done well in business and other professional fields, and according to some figures, Arab Christians in Israel are doing better in terms of education and standard of living than the Jewish majority, and several Druze and Bedouin officers serve in top-ranking positions in the Israeli military. Moreover, the diffusion of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict could certainly make it easier for Israeli Arabs to be integrated into Israeli society.

But even before that conflict comes to an end, Israel could take steps to make the Arabs feel like equal citizens. Bush administration officials have hailed the new Iraqi leadership’s election of a Kurd to the ceremonial job of president. Since the Arabs in Israel, like the Kurds in Iraq, constitute 20 percent of the population, why not elect an Arab to the ceremonial job of president of Israel? Similarly, while American officials and pundits celebrated the Cedar Revolution in Lebanon and the evolution of a new Lebanese nationalism that seeks to create a national identity that brings together Maronite Christians, Muslims, and Shi’ites, why not seek a similar new definition of Israeli nationalism that will

permit Hebrew-speaking Jews and Christians, Arab Muslims and Christians, and Druze to become part of an Israeli nation?

That will mean that Israel will have to move beyond the notion of a Jewish ghetto in the Eastern Mediterranean and advance into a new stage in its political and cultural development that Israeli intellectuals describe as “post-Zionism,” in which Israel as a normal European nation-state defines its identity based on territory, language, and culture. Jewish religion and culture will still remain a powerful component of the Israeli identity, in the same way that Christianity is an important element of the national character of many European states, and Jews around the world would maintain familial and cultural ties to Israel, as many Latin Americans feel an attachment to Spain. But in the same way that Jews in North America and Europe have struggled and succeeded in becoming full citizens in the midst of Christian majorities, they shouldn’t be surprised if the Hebrew-speaking Christian community, which will probably grow in numbers in the coming years, strives to win equal rights in Israeli society.

Since—unlike Arab citizens of Israel—no one can accuse Hebrew Christians of posing a threat to national security, there is really no reason they shouldn’t become as Israeli as their Jewish neighbors. Indeed, by permitting new recruits to the Israeli army to pledge allegiance on the New Testament, the government seemed to recognize that one can indeed be a proud Israeli and a observant Christian at the same time. Israel may not be ready for an Arab president, but what about a Hebrew Christian prime minister? ■

Leon Hadar is a Cato Institute research fellow in foreign-policy studies whose forthcoming book is Sandstorm: Policy Failure in the Middle East.

Discriminating Tastes

The ongoing effort to overthrow Prop. 209

By Steven Greenhut

ON NOV. 5, 1996 California voters approved, by 54 percent to 46 percent, a groundbreaking antidiscrimination measure known as Proposition 209. Yet despite the passage of nearly nine years, the assaults on this common-sense measure continue.

Prop. 209 amended California’s Constitution to read: “The state shall not discriminate against, or grant preferential treatment to, any individual or group on the basis of race, sex, color, ethnicity, or national origin in the operation of public employment, public education, or public contracting.” It included necessary caveats, such as allowing sex to be considered as “reasonably necessary to the normal operation of public employment.”

Who could object to something so obvious and fair? Government should not discriminate against individuals. Yet such seemingly unobjectionable language is highly objectionable. We know why. The Left only gives lip service to nondiscrimination, but in fact is committed to a race-based agenda that allows government officials to hand out political spoils to the “underrepresented minority groups” they favor. Which is why political leaders continue to try to chip away at 209.

In May 2005, Sacramento Superior Court Judge Thomas Cecil struck down one of the most recent and blatant attempts to circumvent Prop. 209. Called Assembly Bill 703, the measure, passed in 2003 and signed into law by Gray Davis, gives a fascinating insight into the world of California liberalism.

To 209 foes, nondiscrimination is troubling, as are the precepts of the

American founding. But international treaties and the United Nations are wonderful things. So legislators, led by Assemblyman Mervyn Dymally, sought to replace American-based jurisprudence with UN-style lawmaking. The legislation argued that Section 31 of Article I of the California Constitution—Prop. 209’s language—has created “confusion and conflict” because in banning racial discrimination it does not define what racial discrimination might be.

In my experience, men such as Dymally never have trouble spotting racism, real or perceived, so this is an unusual problem. But the solution is even more unusual and disturbing. The law embraced the definition used by the United Nations’ International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, as adopted in 1965. And—no surprise—the convention allows discriminatory measures such as racial and ethnic quotas to be used for affirmative-action purposes.

The Pacific Legal Foundation, along with Prop. 209 co-sponsor Ward Connerly, filed suit against former governor Davis and Attorney General Bill Lockyer, an affirmative-action supporter who has tried various ways to undermine Prop. 209. The argument was flawless. The legislature cannot on its own change the language in the state constitution. Dymally is free to collect signatures to put the matter before the voters, but he cannot quietly substitute United Nations language for constitutional language.

“This is a happy day for me personally,” Connerly said, according to news reports. “We’re putting another nail in

the coffin of preferences.” The attorney general’s office said the ruling was no big deal but refused to rule out an appeal. Another attack was dodged, but the never-ending assaults on Prop. 209 suggest that vigilance always is in order.

“The politicians are the ones driving these types of actions,” said Sharon Browne, a principal attorney for the Pacific Legal Foundation. “The people have clearly stated their position to amend the constitution to prohibit the state [and its various subdivisions] from classifying people by race and sex. Then the politicians come and thumb their noses at the voter.”

PLF has been victorious in the ongoing legal challenges waged against public entities that try to use race and sex preferences for contracting, education, almost everything. And the group has succeeded in turning back legislative efforts to strip Prop. 209 of its power. “Almost annually, some politician tries to introduce a bill to undermine 209,” Browne said. It’s not cheap for taxpayers when their governments flout the law. In PLF’s case against the Sacramento Municipal Utility District, the district had to pay \$635,000 in legal fees.

In late May, a San Francisco grand jury issued a report condemning that municipality’s continued use of race and gender preferences in awarding government contracts. Specifically, the city’s Human Rights Commission monitors race and ethnicity in contracting forms, according to a *San Francisco Chronicle* report. This comes on top of legal actions against the city for its race- and sex-based contracting process.

Even San Francisco officials cannot top the efforts of the scofflaws in the education system. Recently John Moores, chairman of the University of California Board of Regents, argued that affirmative-action-addicted academics find ways to impose quotas, despite the law. “Moores ... challenged Berkeley’s admis-

sion of several hundred students with SAT I scores below 1,000 in 2002, while rejecting many other students with top scores near the maximum of 1,600,” reported the *San Francisco Chronicle* in a May 15 news story. Moores was censured by the board for his observation, and Berkeley then quickly conducted its own study alleging that ethnicity plays virtually no role in college admissions.

And the rhetorical attacks are ceaseless. UC Berkeley Chancellor Robert Birgeneau, after being named to his post in April, “said his most significant challenge will be trying to boost the ‘egregiously’ low enrollments of African-American and Latino students at his campus,” according to a *Los Angeles Times* report. Birgeneau used his inaugural address to blast the initiative, accusing voters of ignorance.

“Ultimately, it is a fight for the soul of this institution,” Birgeneau told the *Times*. “Inclusion is about leadership and excellence, principles that California and its leading public university has

ees to violate the law and that penalties for violating the law are severe.

Is there any doubt that without Prop. 209 Birgeneau and others like him would rig the numbers to achieve the desired results? Is there any doubt that a racial spoils system would take over and that discrimination would be the rule of the state?

The bean counters cannot even get their stories straight. First, we’re told the number of underrepresented minorities (Asians are “overrepresented” and don’t count) fell dramatically after Prop. 209. Then officials pride themselves on their other efforts to boost minority enrollment. As the *Los Angeles Times* reported, “In recent years, the percentage of black and Latino students admitted to UC campuses has slowly risen to about what it was before the ban, partly as a result of broader admissions criteria that allow the consideration of such socioeconomic factors as poverty and hardship.” (One reason is a rule that allows the top 4 percent of all graduat-

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long represented—and must again.” Connerly believes Birgeneau’s attacks on Prop. 209 are meant to encourage officials to break the law.

In a letter to Birgeneau, PLF’s Browne argued, “Using race as a factor in the admissions policy to increase African-American enrollment at Berkeley will cause greater problems than it will solve. You would be putting minority students in academic settings in which their academic credentials forecast—often correctly—they will do poorly or fail.” She reminded Birgeneau that it is wrong to encourage Berkeley employ-

ing high-school seniors to attend UC, even though the top at the worst schools is below the mid-range in better schools.)

Which is it: a dramatic falloff in minority enrollment or a wash? When accused of circumventing Prop. 209 to boost minority admissions numbers, officials provide reports showing full compliance—even as leaders actively undermine 209. Without 209, they would be wreaking havoc in a state that has witnessed rapid and profound demographic changes, creating more division in an already divided state.

Minorities comprise 70 percent of Los Angeles County's nearly 10 million residents. Supposedly lily-white Orange County has a 50.5 percent minority population. In 1970, Orange County's population was 86 percent white. San Bernardino County, one of the prime growth areas in the LA basin, has a 60 percent minority population. Likewise, most of the Bay Area counties—not just San Francisco—have minority populations just below 60 percent. The statewide changes have been dramatic and swift, affecting all the most populated parts of California.

Nevertheless, Californians seem to get along reasonably well. With the exception of recent student race riots between Mexicans and African-Americans at some inner-city Los Angeles high schools, there are few noticeable ethnic flare-ups.

One cannot underestimate the role of Prop. 209, and the efforts of Ward Connerly, PLF, and others who promoted and defend Prop. 209 in the courts, in helping calm the potentially troubled demographic waters. Despite the enduring hostility of ethnic activists and liberal politicians, Prop. 209 creates a sense of fairness in public accommodations and minimizes the sense that one group is using the political system to take advantage of others.

We can look around and see that officials such as Dymally will always try to get around the law and enforce their own noxious brand of race baiting. But they achieve their ends only by stealth and rarely succeed in the courts. The attacks on Prop. 209 might never subside, but it's far better to be defending it than to be trying to overturn the byzantine and destructive racial-quota system that would be in place had it never passed. ■

Steven Greenhut a columnist for the Orange County Register.

Mussolini in the Mideast

Neoconservatives justify their global crusades as a search-and-destroy mission for resurgent fascism.

By Paul Gottfried

READING A BLAST on David Horowitz's FrontPageMag.com against journalist Eric Margolis for his "apologizing for Islamofascists," I was reminded of George Orwell's observation about his fellow leftists in 1946: "The word fascism has now no meaning except in so far as it signifies 'something not desirable.'"

In an endorsement of Daniel Pipes, who was then a candidate for membership in the U.S. Institute of Peace, FrontPage praised him as someone who had "perhaps done more than anyone else to clear up the confusion and obfuscation about the threat to our nation from the forces of radical Islamofascism." Significantly, Pipes, who publishes widely on "militant Islam," usually avoids the term "Islamofascism" in his work. After all, it is possible to criticize Islamic fundamentalism and the failure of Europeans to adjust their immigration policy to fit this danger without bringing up Hitler and Mussolini.

That, however, is not how others see this matter. In *Terror and Liberalism*, Paul Berman equates fascism with hatred for beleaguered minorities—"the subversive dwellers in Babylon" allied to Satanic forces. It is the paranoid reaction of those who believe "the Satanic forces were always pressing the people of God from all sides." "Yet, no matter how putrid and oppressive was the present, the reign of God always beckoned in the future."

For Christopher Hitchens, the "bomb-ers of Manhattan represent fascism with an Islamic face . . . What they abominate

about 'the West,' to put it in a phrase, is not what Western liberals don't like and can't defend about their own system but what they *do* like about it and must defend: its emancipated women, its scientific inquiry, its separation of religion from the state." Hitchens deems the essence of fascism, which militant Muslims now incarnate, to be hatred of "the very idea of modernity and the related practices of pluralism and toleration."

Such assertions need to be questioned. Hitchens's "modernity," for example, only refers to the most recent phase of Western modernity, a process of change that starts with the Protestant Reformation, various religious wars, and the age of absolutism. It is also doubtful, if one looks at the rigorous enforcement of political correctness, that we are now living in a time of unprecedented tolerance. One might wonder whether the attempt to drive religion out of public life, a practice that Hitchens proudly endorses, exemplifies toleration or social engineering. Finally, there are competing visions of modernity, not all of which exclude religious piety and traditional gender roles. Hitchens fixes on his preferred notion of modernity, which he makes synonymous with the West.

Critics of Islamofascism never quite succeed in relating their *bête noire* to a historically recognizable interwar movement. A characteristically vague definition crops up in an interview conducted by Jamie Glazov in FrontPage of Stephen Vincent, the author of a book on Iraqi society who is made out to be an

expert on the new fascism. Vincent talks up those Iraqis epitomizing “the feminine spirit” and “the rejection of tribal culture” but then expresses concern that the wrong kinds of people may take over in Iraq. “Islamofascists declare that they ‘love death more than we love life.’ In truth, they are enraptured by a kind of malignant narcissism exacerbated by the grandiosity that lurks at the heart of Islam.” Further, “Nazis, Communist revolutionaries, Islamofascists are warriors and terrorists. All believe in their superhuman will to transcend the ego and to possess the Infinite.” Although those terrorists Vincent depicts may be a nasty bunch, it is not clear what makes them fascist—as opposed to merely unpleasant. What link do they have to the Italian war veterans who marched on Rome in 1922 and brought Mussolini to power—or to the Brown Shirts of Ernst Roehm?

whom Berman goes after, deplored Nazi anti-Semitism and drew sharp contrasts between Christianity and Aryan racism. Moreover, until the late '30s, about a tenth of Italian Jews held *tessere del partito*, as fascists in good standing. The passage by Mussolini of anti-Jewish legislation in 1938, after he threw in his lot with Hitler, shocked European and American Jewish leaders, who until the late '30s viewed the *Duce* as an ally against Nazi Germany and a reliable supporter of the Zionists.

It is also not clear that fascists, despite their passion for military strutting, did much to change the status of women in European societies. Women held party offices and continued to vote in fascist-led countries in which female suffrage had been granted. And even “clerical-fascist” Austria in the '30s did not drive women from public life or

Although sometimes attempts at historical connections between Islamofascism and the real article are made, the lines of continuity are less than convincing. For Stephen Schwartz in *The Two Faces of Islam*, an aberrant strain of Islam, Wahhabism, established itself in the Arabian Peninsula in the 18th century, whereupon it created a theocracy, which the Saud rulers dedicated themselves to keeping in place and which over time, we are made to believe, came to resemble European fascism. As the Wahhabi movement, which prescribes tight behavioral control in a polity under Islamic law, spread into other parts of the Islamic world, it helped forge an anti-Western front that is still with us. Because of its authoritarian and anti-Jewish character, this Islamist front is now, according to Schwartz, a major world danger. It encourages a fascist mentality that is similar to the one that imperiled Western liberal democracy in interwar Europe.

Schwarz, whom Hitchens considers “a most articulate enemy of Islamofascism,” has tried to publicize his take on the “West and fascism” as a newswriter for Voice of America and as a frequent speaker at the Heritage Foundation and American Enterprise Institute.

Critics of Islamofascism have come up with other apparently damning links between Islamists and European fascism. They cite the support of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, an implacable opponent of the Zionists, for Nazi Germany in World War II and the prominence of Muslims in the Croatian nationalist government, the Ustasha, which served Nazi Germany. Such critics might also note (but they don't for PC reasons) that Muslim Albanians formed an entire unit of the Waffen SS and under German command happily slaughtered Serbs. But such facts have nothing to do with militant Islam. The Muslims who worked for the Nazis in the Balkans were mostly

SOME OF US MAY FIND **HITCHENS'S LIBERALISM** TO BE DOWNRIGHT **ILLIBERAL**, AND ALTHOUGH **EUROPEAN FASCISTS DENOUNCED THEM** AS DECADENT BOURGEOIS, MOST EUROPEAN LIBERALS HELD **TRADITIONAL VIEWS ON WOMEN AND GAYS** THAT BERMAN AND HITCHENS MIGHT **CONSIDER TO BE FASCIST**.

Some anti-Islamofascists relate their object of attack to anti-Jewish propaganda and to a rejection of liberalism. One problem with pairing dislike for liberalism with recrudescing fascism is the need for agreement on the meanings of both terms. Some of us may find Hitchens's liberalism to be downright illiberal, and although European fascists denounced them as decadent bourgeois, most European liberals held traditional views on women and gays that Berman and Hitchens might consider to be fascist.

Even more problematic, not all fascists were violently anti-Semitic or sympathized with Hitler's treatment of European Jewry. The head of the Spanish Falange, a group of Spanish nationalists

show anything like the ugly face one finds in Islamist societies. If the real European experiments in clerical fascism in interwar Austria and Portugal were what our critics are looking at, it is hard to see why they should be offended or even care about clerical fascism among Muslims.

But that kind of genealogical investigation is not what is taking place. What anti-fascist critics are doing is conflating everything they consider “not desirable” into a single threat against which Western governments are to be mobilized. This hypothetical force is seen as antithetical to what the critics happen to value, in Hitchens's case secularism and feminism.

secularized, and the Grand Mufti sought Nazi aid as a crazed anti-Zionist rather than because he saw a fit between the Koran and Aryan racism. The Hashemite monarchies in Iraq and Jordan and the Saud dynasty in Arabia all eventually took sides with the Allies in World War II.

It is possible to condemn such behavior as stoning women for talking to men on the street without attaching a fascist label. Medieval crusaders sacked Jews and Eastern Christians *en route* to the Middle East but not because the crusaders were fascists. And it is morally and politically justifiable to keep hostile Third World populations away from one's country, whether or not they qualify as fascists. David Horowitz properly warns the Dutch about the havoc being wrought on their society by Third World Muslim immigrants. But he adds nothing substantive here by condemning the recently arrived Muslims as Islamofascists.

There are two reasons for the current inflation of meaning of "fascist" to take in anti-Western, anti-Israeli, and generally unprogressive Muslims, but both involve faulty historical parallels.

First, among left-liberals in the U.S. but even more in Europe, antifascism rules. Fascists are the opposite of what the Left considers good, be it gay marriage, open borders, or the view that gender is a social construct. Part of this demonology consists of defending Communists or at least savaging anti-Communists of the past. But Communists in practice rarely supported the expressive freedoms that antifascists are calling for—any more than did the real fascists. The Communist parties in Western Europe viewed unconventional social morality with deep suspicion. Just ask gays there (if one can find them outside of prison) about life in Castro's Cuba or Communist China.

Antifascism is a ritual activity that consists of anathematizing those who do not share the fashionable social

agenda by linking them to long dead anti-Communist tyrants. Hitchens's invectives against "fascism with an Islamic face" and against "theocratic barbarism" illustrate this style of thinking. The enemies are "not fighting to free Gaza. They are fighting for the right to throw acid in the faces of unveiled women in Kabul and Karachi." Thus Hitchens explains fascist misogyny to readers of the London *Evening Stan-*

IT IS POSSIBLE TO **CONDEMN SUCH BEHAVIOR** AS STONING WOMEN FOR TALKING TO MEN ON THE STREET **WITHOUT ATTACHING A FASCIST LABEL.**

dard in the week following 9/11. His fevered phraseology is intended to remind us of a danger that is both theocratic and anti-feminist. Although it is proper to condemn barbaric conduct, it may be asked whether all non-secular societies are necessarily barbaric and whether what Hitchens is describing is specifically fascist.

Clearly, some who rail against Islamofascism, like Hitchens and Peter Beinart and Andrew Sullivan of the *New Republic*, have domestic fish to fry. They all see the possibility of tying together the war against Islamic theocratic fascists abroad with one against the hated Religious Right at home. As Murray Rothbard once noted about John Dewey and the circle grouped around the *New Republic* that agitated for American entry into World War I, plunging one's country into foreign crusades has often been a means for changing things at home. The enemies of Islamofascism are not the first to play this game.

Second, the more widespread cause for the agitation against Islamofascism is the advancement of a particular Middle Eastern agenda. It is not surprising that anti-Islamofascists are often neoconservatives. One can look all day at Democratic leftist web-

sites without chancing upon a single reference to Islamofascists. But this is not true for the commentaries of Sean Hannity, Michael Savage, Charles Krauthammer, Mort Kondracke, FrontPage, or the websites of the *New Republic* and *National Review* or the neocon fellow traveler Andrew Sullivan. All of them bristle with denunciations of the new fascism. For neoconservatives, like the

Left, fascism is a word to conjure with. It is usually made to refer to anti-Semitism, Hitler, and his genocidal politics—themes that elicit powerful emotions.

But it would be unfair to treat this fascist connection as merely cynical manipulation. Neoconservatives who bring it up may well believe that they face an encircling fascist, anti-Semitic enemy. For example, it is hard to read the immaculately neoconservative *New York Post* even for a week without encountering terrified accounts of prowling neo-Nazis in Europe.

It is doubtful that neoconservatives are entirely ignorant of the struggle that is now taking place over the manipulation of the fascist label. And they are weighing into this battle by trying to popularize their own hyphenated fascist entry. This may be the most important explanation for why Islamofascism is now thriving in certain quarters. And the term may stay around as long as the semantic battle continues to unfold. ■

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ECONOMY IN CRISIS

CREATING AWARENESS OF OUR TRUE ECONOMIC CONDITION

The Japanese Miracle

America is a great country and has a lot going for it, but through misguidance and misgovernment we are quickly squandering the power and wealth previous generations have created.

To put this in perspective, this is how America compares with a country as small as Japan.

- Japan is a country with only 4% of our land mass (smaller than California) and is 90% mountainous and infertile.
- Japan has minimal natural resources — no oil, no coal, and no iron, just fish!
- To manufacture a product, Japan must import all of its required resources. Even after this expense, they have an \$80 billion/year balance-of-trade surplus with America and also accumulate one-third of the world's savings (*US News & World Report*, 3/19/01).
- Few Americans realize that Japan generates on par or higher average wage rates than the U.S.
- The average Japanese family has a savings equivalent to \$117,000 (*US News & World Report*, 3/19/01).

American families average \$85,000 in debt (*USA Today*, 10/4/04). Japan must be doing something right! Better planning, direction, and a more responsive government are keys to their success. They have learned much from us and have improved on it. Perhaps it would be wise for us to study their improvements for our own benefit.

Compare this to:

- America has borrowed \$667 billion from Japan and \$194 billion from China to keep our government running and to give ourselves tax refunds, pay for our internal budget deficit (\$413 billion/year), and our current account deficit (\$617 billion/year).
- America is a large country (2 1/2 times Japan's population, plus much land and natural resources), but we are producing less, importing more, and borrowing more than ever before as well as selling our irreplaceable assets to pay for imports and debt.
- America's wealth was accumulated by previous generations, as we had world-beating manufacturing capabilities.

America is presently relinquishing much of its manufacturing by *outsourcing* (giving away our technology and jobs to foreign companies and having them produce for us in their countries, thus totally dismantling our industrial base) and *insourcing* (subsidizing foreign companies to operate in America to produce for their benefit and their profit, which quickly displaces many American-owned factories).

- We are becoming vulnerable and dependent on foreign companies for jobs and products.
- In central Ohio alone (a seven-county area within 60 miles of Columbus), there are 62 Japanese-owned and 67 European-owned American corporations that control a large percentage of the manufacturing in the region.
- American-owned manufacturing is becoming obsolete and second-rate. We are no longer competitive with Japan, China, and other countries.
- America is the only major industrialized country that depends on foreign suppliers for large amounts of steel. It also depends on foreigners for critical inputs needed by strategic industries.
- America is selling many of its best companies to foreign corporations (example: Chrysler is now a German-owned company).

All this is happening while America is trying to fight three wars: the Afghanistan War, the Iraq War, and the internal terrorist war. We are incurring massive debt and are dependent on foreign sources for funding to continue this.

Every American should think about where we are heading and the dangers and vulnerabilities of maintaining this direction. Major changes need to take place or we will face unimaginable problems and soon see an America we won't recognize.

Please take the time to write to the president and your congressperson with your thoughts.

Can't America Do Better?

This article comes from Economy In Crisis

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Phantom Menace

THE WASHINGTON AGENCIES of national security display a distressing detachment from the realities of the American situation in the Middle East.

The Army, its Reserve, and the Marine Corps are overcommitted, with deteriorating morale. The volunteer military cannot find the recruits it needs. Conscription is politically unthinkable but could become the only alternative.

In these circumstances, the Defense Department, which has been unable to supply body and vehicle armor in adequate quantities, is preoccupied with new nuclear weapons and space wars. It wants vast new expenditures on projects with no relevance to present realities—new and “more usable” nuclear weapons, including earth-penetrating “bunker busters.” The need is highly debatable, and the political costs of developing new nuclear weapons enormous.

The Air Force wants a national-security directive to “establish and maintain space superiority,” a project on which it seems already to have spent billions, and on which it wants to spend more, up to an estimated trillion dollars (and beyond, as experience of such estimates suggests).

Quite beyond the project’s feasibility, cost, foreign policy implications, and likelihood to inspire countermeasures, it is another demand for a military capability irrelevant to the present and realistically foreseeable future security needs of the country.

On May 9, a lost light plane entering Washington airspace produced a panicked evacuation of Congress, the White House, and most of the rest of official Washington. We are urged to control outer space, but one errant light plane terrorizes our nation’s capital. The one is costly fantasy. The other is reality.

A new Bureau of Reconstruction and Stabilization in the State Department is charged with organizing the reconstruction of countries where the United States has deemed it necessary to intervene in order to make them into market democracies. The bureau has 25 countries under surveillance as possible candidates for Defense Department deconstruction and State Department reconstruction. The bureau’s director is recruiting “rapid-reaction forces” of official, nongovernmental, and corporate business specialists. He hopes to develop the capacity for three full-scale, simultaneous reconstruction operations in different countries.

He told a recent conference on this subject (according to Naomi Klein in *The Nation*) that some of these American corporations will be given “pre-completed” contracts for reconstruction work in countries currently unaware that they are candidates for destruction/reconstruction. Getting the paperwork done beforehand, he said, could “cut off three to six months in your response time.”

This occurs at the same time American military forces still are unable to pacify Iraq or Afghanistan, agricultural societies of less than 25 million people each, both largely in ruins. The billions Washington already has spent on reconstruction have yet to produce reliable electric power, clean water, or a functioning sewer system in Baghdad itself.

The creation of an official capability for reconstructing 25 countries, at a time when anonymous senior army officers are quoted as saying that the United States could be defeated in Iraq, is the most egregious Washington example of a pathological disconnection from reality.

However, it is a logical bureaucratic response to the announced administra-

tion intention to overturn tyrants and spread liberty throughout the world.

The United States suffers a hypertrophy of irrelevant power in a policy context of unrealizable ambitions and unacknowledged or morbidly denied failures: in Iraq, Afghanistan, and in the War on Terror, where the Taliban fight to return in Afghanistan and Osama bin Laden and the Mullah Omar remain at large.

One is inclined to dismiss all this as product of institutional delusion or bureaucratic make-work. However, it responds to the expressed interests of the president. As one of his associates said, “we make reality.” This was in response to a question about realism. The remark unknowingly echoed one of Hannah Arendt’s acute observations about totalitarianism. One of the most significant aspects of the totalitarian regimes of the 20th century was that they “made reality” out of fictions. They were based on ideological fantasies that were false, but these fantasies were made into the reality upon which national policy was based. They thus came catastrophically true—until their inner falsehood brought disaster.

If the machinery of American government is put to work on the premises that the nation faces new wars, new dangers that will require the use of new nuclear weapons, and faces threats from space that it must pre-emptively counter with weapons that pose radical new threats to other nations, then “realities” will be created that foster disorder and war. Others will not like this falsified American version of truth. In the long run, Americans might not like it either. ■

William Pfaff is a columnist for the International Herald Tribune. Copyright Tribune Media Services.

Arts & Letters

FILM

[*Cinderella Man*]

Glass Jaws & Glass Slippers

By Steve Sailer

THE ARTISTIC accomplishments of film directors may be overstated by the hero-worshipping *auteur* theory, but any man who can shoulder a director's workload and responsibilities deserves a little respect. And if, like Ron Howard, he can deliver quality movies for a quarter of a century after starting out as a child star—the most warping upbringing imaginable, as the trials of Michael Jackson and Robert Blake attest—then he merits a lot more.

If Howard weren't so recognizable from "The Andy Griffith Show" and "Happy Days," he'd almost be the modern equivalent of William Wyler, the epitome of the hardworking but nearly anonymous craftsman director. Wyler earned a record 12 Oscar nominations, yet due to his lack of a signature style, he is now frequently mistaken for the second-most-nominated director, Billy Wilder.

The boxing biopic "Cinderella Man" is Howard's best film since "Apollo 13." It's an improvement over his first collaboration with the formidable star Russell Crowe and the hack screenwriter Akiva Goldsman (of the universally despised "Batman and Robin"). In their Best Picture-winning "A Beautiful Mind," the brutishly masculine Crowe almost overcame being miscast as the youthful

mathematical prodigy John Nash. Goldsman moved the Nobel Laureate's mental breakdown from 1959 to 1953 so he could pretend Nash was driven mad by anti-Communist paranoia during the McCarthy years. The Red Scare-obsessed academy gave Goldsman an Oscar for his deceptiveness.

Luckily, the true story of pugilist James J. Braddock's comeback is such a perfect vehicle for Howard's family values—he and his wife of 28 years have four children—that not even Goldsman can wreck it.

A popular Irish-American fighter during the prosperous 1920s, Braddock's career collapsed in 1929 as quickly as the economy. To keep food on the table for his wife (played well by Renée Zellweger) and three kids, he soldiered on with a bad hand, losing 18 of his next 33 fights. By 1933, he was out of boxing, an intermittently employed stevedore reduced to sometimes farming out his children to relatives so they wouldn't catch pneumonia in their unheated basement apartment.

In 1934, Braddock's faithful manager (portrayed by Paul Giamatti, a lock for an Oscar nomination after being stiffed over "Sideways" last year) signed him up on only a day's notice to play human punching bag to a heavyweight contender. Despite having gone without food so his kids could eat, Braddock knocked out the big galoot. He then upset two more prominent names. Braddock's purses allowed him to reimburse the government for his family's welfare payments, a gesture Joe Louis later emulated.

Finally, Braddock went off as a 10-1 underdog against the fearsome heavyweight champ Max Baer Sr. "Cinderella Man" unfairly portrays Baer as a Mike Tyson-like brute, when he was a kind-

hearted joker hoping to get out of boxing and into showbiz. (His son Max Baer Jr. fulfilled his dad's hopes by playing Jethro Bodine on "The Beverly Hillbillies.")

Yet while Baer's macho preening was novel and amusing in the 1930s, when athletes were still supposed to act like self-effacing Victorian sportsmen, and it was fun when Muhammad Ali turbocharged Baer's act, by now we've all seen where it leads: to the countless jerks infesting big-money sports today.

In contrast, when asked why he was risking his life against Baer, who had administered (unintentionally) fatal beatings to two strong men, Braddock replied, "Milk." Braddock came to symbolize the battered but still game fathers who did whatever it took to get their families through the Depression. Fortunately, "Cinderella Man" avoids political sermonizing, unlike former Clinton speechwriter Gary Ross's "Seabiscuit," a dopey allegory in which a thoroughbred represents the New Deal.

That Crowe, a hard-drinking hothead who broke up Meg Ryan's marriage to Dennis Quaid, isn't anything like the saintly Braddock only adds to the power of his impersonation. We admire the high-testosterone man who could play the cad but instead chooses to be the dad more than the low testosterone fellow without that option.

The other bit of forgivable phoniness is that Howard stages the climactic bout as a thrilling donnybrook, with Braddock valiantly trading right hooks to the jaw with Baer for 15 rounds. In reality, the calculating family man, ahead on points, spent the last three rounds prudently dancing away from the out-of-shape Baer. One ring historian called the actual match "one of the most unexciting title fights of all time." ■

BOOKS

[*Classical Music in America: A History of Its Rise and Fall*, Joseph Horowitz, W.W. Norton & Company, 606 pages]

The Day the Music Didn't Die

By R.J. Stove

WHILE THE END OF HISTORY may be less fashionable now than of yore, the End of Classical Music is still going gangbusters, with an apocalyptic relish that echoes the Club of Rome's mid-1970s pinnacle. This wearing of sackcloth often gives the impression of having been with us since King David, approaching retirement, sold his harp on eBay. In fact, the genre as a genre—rather than an isolated study or two—is a modern invention. At or near its beginning comes *The Closing of the American Mind* (1987), where Allan Bloom proclaimed in his usual fact-free style, “classical music is dead among the young.” (Though not, we may observe, as dead as Bloom, who combined his moralizing with a Foucaultian eagerness to disseminate AIDS.)

Even former *New Criterion* publisher Samuel Lipman, now also prematurely deceased, found substituting generalized harangues for serious analyses an increasingly addictive pastime. In one strange 1985 outburst, Lipman dismissed organists as failed pianists. More recently, the ever-voyeuristic Norman Lebrecht favored the world with not one but two sky-is-falling tracts: *The Maestro Myth* and *Who Killed Classical Music?*

New York-based musicologist Joseph Horowitz ranks several cuts above Lebrecht in his capacity to read primary sources and to do serious research. Yet he shares Lebrecht's basic temperament, which for all its assiduous paganism is one of displaced eschatological

panic. The spectacle of religious despair severed from religious belief is frequently poignant but more frequently absurd.

What, in classical music's past and present, drives Horowitz to such anguish? Pretty much everything, it seems. His job description seldom helps. Musicologists, like literary critics, tend to arouse ribald and sometimes justified comparisons with eunuchs. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to call Horowitz's grievances fundamentally personal. Doubtless they derive from a hatred of modern America; but this hatred can coexist with literary worth, as in their different ways Louis-Ferdinand Céline and Dwight Macdonald both showed. Why, then, is Horowitz's protest so frequently tiresome, whereas Macdonald's rages against the dying of high culture's light continue to merit deference 50 years later? Does the difference lie in Macdonald's humor versus Horowitz's lack thereof? Whence Horowitz's sullen *Gestalt*?

Readers probably guessed from the last sentence that some serious Teutonic gloom was in the offing; and so it proves. Horowitz's tome constitutes primarily of a 600-page accolade to Theodor Adorno, whose jeremiads against American artistic life—as well as against Christians, families, “fascists”, etc.—elevated kvetching to a moral code. If Adorno was the Messiah of Political Correctness, then Horowitz (although he limits his

posers alone from this time are still widely remembered: Stephen Foster, Louis Moreau Gottschalk, and Edward “To A Wild Rose” Macdowell, all superb miniaturists, all dead young, as if to anticipate Scott Fitzgerald's maxim about second acts in American lives.

If sheer philanthropic labors could have supplied compositional genius, then antebellum and immediately post-bellum America would have been awash in it. The country's musical infrastructure abounded in wealth and strength. By contrast, 19th-century Finland had almost no musical infrastructure at all, not even an adequate orchestra. Yet it produced Sibelius. Meanwhile, Horowitz strives to hold his public's interest in such obscure creators as Anthony Philip Heinrich, William Henry Fry, John Knowles Paine, George Frederick Bristow, George Whitefield Chadwick, and—in Dorothy Parker's scathing phrase—“other triple-named apostles of optimism.” For some reason, Horowitz ignores a charming egotist named Silas G. Pratt, whose claim on posterity's consideration lies not in his own operas but in allegedly telling Wagner to his face, “You are the Silas G. Pratt of Germany.”

When describing the Gilded Age's impresarios and performers, Horowitz's prose comes to life as it never does when he depicts composers. He clearly enjoys expounding upon Henry Higginson, the Boston Symphony Orchestra's visionary founder; Patrick Gilmore,

HOROWITZ'S TOME CONSTITUTES PRIMARILY OF 600-PAGE ACCOLADE TO ADORNO.

actual citations of Adorno's name to an almost-bearable four) is spreading the PC gospel with televangelistic fervor.

The book's least Adornian, and accordingly most effortful, part is its first. There Horowitz has to confront the problem of why 19th-century America, which in literature boasted Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Longfellow, and Mark Twain, and which in painting boasted the Hudson River School, was so blatant an underachiever when it came to original music. Three local com-

organizer of outsize concerts; and three hitherto-famous conductors above all: Karl Muck, whose blisteringly assured direction can still be discerned, through the surface noise, on a few precious records; Theodore Thomas, whose sterling Midwestern advocacy of European orchestral music inspired a grateful Richard Strauss to write, “What we Germans owe him shall be held in everlasting remembrance”; and Anton Seidl, whose Wagner performances between 1888 and 1896—on Coney Island, of all

places—enable Horowitz to recycle material from his 1994 study *Wagner Nights*.

Less meritorious is Horowitz's section upon Charles Ives, American modernism's archetypal "holy beast"—to quote Tom Wolfe's metaphor—and the Jackson Pollock of music. The Horowitz portrait of Ives, who died in 1954 at age 79, is bland, airbrushed, and conventional, full of praise for Ives the baseball-loving Whitmanesque democrat. Tactfully suppressed are those features of Ives's disposition that would mar the amiable picture, notably his loathing of homosexuality—a loathing which today would debar him from any job more prestigious than that of street sweeper—and his pathological contempt for Mozart, Wagner, Debussy, Ravel, or indeed almost any other composer who lacked the stupendous good fortune of being Ives.

Sadly for Horowitz, Ives—about the last American composer for whom Horowitz can feel unrestrained enthusiasm, or much enthusiasm at all—had no

influence on American creativity until his juniors started ostentatiously championing him during his crotchety old age. It is Horowitz's curious belief that the 1930s, that veritable efflorescence of American classical composition—Samuel Barber, Aaron Copland, Howard Hanson, Walter Piston, and half a dozen only slightly less distinguished figures all emerged at this time—could do almost nothing musically right. Hence Horowitz's condemnation of Copland for not being Bartók, Shostakovich, or Kurt Weill. Hence his rating of Barber's talents below those of Benjamin Britten, a verdict with no firmer basis than the fact that Britten self-consciously flaunted his transgressive proclivities while Barber mostly concealed his. Hence his dismissal of Hanson as representing "a dead end."

In such decrees, Horowitz sounds all too embarrassingly redolent of those Gilded Age newspaper critics whom he censures, and who—save for James G. Huneker, by far the best stylist among them and the least pompous—remained so inept compared to their British or European counterparts. For artistic acumen, these critics substituted Brahmanical nagging. Their educative method can be summarized in three words: "Eat your broccoli." "I challenge any living man to say honestly," harumphed the *New York Tribune's* Henry Krehbiel, "that he ever came away from the performance of a symphonic poem by Richard Strauss with any finer impulse of his nature quickened ... Strauss [is] the prince royal of tonal decadents." Horowitz rightly rebukes such effrontery; yet how does it differ, in essentials, from his own? Those panjandrums denounced the modernist ideologies that he worships, but his taste for inhabiting bully pulpits is at least as great as was theirs.

The bully-pulpit attitude becomes particularly inopportune in Horowitz's obsessive attacks upon Toscanini. Just as earlier he reworks *Wagner Nights*, so here he shamelessly rehashes his 1987 philippic *Understanding Toscanini*, unwilling or unable to admit how com-

pletely such subsequent researchers as Toscanini archivist Mortimer Frank have discredited his findings. Of course, Horowitz never condescends to explain how Toscanini the ostensibly crude swindler of American dupes acquired international respect before the average American had even heard of him. Was Toscanini's early European reputation a total fraud? Were such Toscanini eulogists as Verdi, Puccini, and Respighi, not to mention Toscanini's encomiastic fellow baton-wielders (Karajan, Klemperer, Pierre Monteux, and George Szell, to name merely four), all idiots or liars? These queries Horowitz disdains to answer, preferring to harp upon Toscanini's lack—a comparative lack only—of interest in performing contemporary composers. Why Toscanini should have felt compelled to perform anything that he did not want to perform is mysterious, especially since fear of arousing Horowitz's chagrin could hardly have entered into the old man's calculations.

But then Horowitz, for all his shows of worldly-wise sarcasm, is as deeply squeamish and moralistic as only an Adornian can be. For no readily identifiable reason, he careens from a competent analysis of the gadfly composer-critic Virgil Thomson into a tirade against white-supremacist thinking. (And he cannot accurately report even that: he tellingly misidentifies Madison Grant's most famous book as *The Passing of the Great White Race*, though Grant's title nowhere contains the word "white.") Just as objectionable to Horowitz are operatic productions that, like those of the Met, have tended to eschew inane directorial fantasies. He consoles himself as best he can by recounting such transient avant-garde satisfactions as a 1970 staging of Verdi's *Masked Ball* that made the hero into a pederast.

Elsewhere it is down, down, all the way down. The *Three Tenors'* concert and recording triumphs have merely "diluted and vulgarized what they purported to disseminate." Compared with what? The heroic non-vulgarity of Janet

MOVING?

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Jackson? The bookish refinement of Jennifer Lopez? The aristocratic murmurs of Eminem?

That the *Three Tenors* phenomenon should have passed its peak more than a decade ago, without the wound it clearly inflicted on Horowitz's psyche having healed in the interim, is symptomatic. Despite the occasional allusion to post-9/11 America, most of Horowitz's survey might as well have been written 15 years back. Thus, he has nothing to say about cyberspace's wider musical repercussions, for example. We could argue until kingdom come—or, to quote the felicitous phrase of *New Yorker* journalist Alex Ross, “until Britney Spears writes her first piano quintet”—about whether the Internet's impact on classical music has been primarily good or bad. (Major classical record companies and their mass-market outlets find it overwhelmingly bad. As feature-writer Stephen Chakwin said in the September-October 2003 *American Record Guide*, “If I ran a bricks-and-mortar music store, I would be thinking about the hand weavers in early-19th-century England and looking for a new line of merchandise.”) Yet this presupposes that we have internalized the Net's existence. Horowitz seems not to have done so. His is an entirely precyberspace intellect, especially via his supposition that mere petulance somehow endows him with ethical authority as artistic gatekeeper.

Underneath all the Horowitz patter about profeminism, postcolonialism, and posthistoricism, there lurks a Matthew Arnold. Which is another way of saying a Moaning Minnie, without even an Arnold's versifying gifts. Horowitz's diatribes against commercialism—he even finds room to quote at length from Joe Klein's Clinton biography, the musical significance of which is not exactly self-evident—inspire the sardonic question: if the profit motive is as intrinsic an evil as Horowitz maintains, why does he not give his book away gratis? ■

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[*America's Most Hated Woman: The Life and Gruesome Death of Madalyn Murray O'Hair, Ann Rowe Seaman, Continuum Publishing Group, 391 pages*]

One Woman's War on God (She Lost)

By Marian Kester Coombs

IN 1919, Madalyn Evalyn Mays Roths Murray O'Hair began a nasty, brutish, and foreshortened life already beleaguered in the womb by a mother desperate to lose her, ingesting “witch” herbs and mustard tonics, jumping off a roof, and throwing herself down stairs in the attempt. By the time her tormented existence was (yes, gruesomely) terminated by a soulless killer after her money, she had made a hell on earth not only for herself but for everyone close to her.

Ann Rowe Seaman is also the author of *Swaggart: The Unauthorized Biography of an American Evangelist*, and the two figures make an intriguing pair: talented con artists working opposite sides of the street. Here Seaman has combined three genres: intellectual biography of an undeniably historic figure, true-crime thriller, and detailed social history, copiously footnoted with published and unpublished sources. For the most part, the author lets O'Hair's actions and words speak for themselves—the most damning words are from the subject's own journals—but she frequently summarizes complex ideological arguments in clear and graceful prose, which vaults her a cut above the typical true-crime *raconteuse*.

Madalyn Evalyn Mays (henceforth “Madalyn”) was named after rich twin girls whom her dirt-poor mother, Lena, had idolized from afar as a child, and this maternal yearning for class elevation remained an animating curse for the daughter throughout life. Despite (or

perhaps because of) an IQ of 150, staggering levels of testosterone seemed to rule Madalyn's relentlessly foul mouth, sexual fixations, masculine brand of alcoholism, and rage at “runaway men.” The anger lever was permanently pressed down in her brain, rendering her both rabid and pitiable. A “wounded outcast” never at home in her own skin, sex, class, or nation, she spent decades scraping together a home of sorts on the ragged fringes of American society.

Virginia Woolf noted that if the young Shakespeare had been female, rather than storming London and sowing her wild oats, she would have been quickly sown and wound up desperately debauched at best. “Catching a baby” indeed happened, repeatedly, to both Madalyn and the round-heeled mother of her killer. Madalyn's two sons were, to use that powerful old word, the bastards of different men (both “good Catholics”). The hypocrisy of these impregnators undoubtedly played a role in Madalyn's crusade against Christ, whom she called “the most despicable man in human history.” So did the behavior of her father, a ne'er-do-well conman who embraced Christianity once his wives were at last exhausted.

Many of the dwindling few who still care about such things believe that Macbeth was defamed by Shakespeare, but no one ever seeks to exonerate Lady Macbeth; there is something eternally unsavory about dragon ladies. Among the tens of thousands of hate letters Madalyn received was one—after she had violently denounced the prayer that Apollo 8's astronauts offered upon orbiting the moon—calling her “Jezebel, Lady Macbeth, Lot's wife, Mary Queen of Scots, all wrapped up into one foul mouthed female atheist.” Latterly the writer would probably have added Jane Fonda, Tammy Faye Bakker, Martha Stewart, and Hillary Clinton to the list.

This instinctive horror of the b***h (even more marked among women than men) is complemented by most women's horror of being shunned or even deemed “not nice.” But Madalyn was

such damaged goods that at age 35 she declared herself living "by raw rules that disgust, revolt and injure. ... I will be ostracized, by my own volition, from society henceforth." The title "America's most hated woman," conferred on her by *Time* magazine after her victory over school prayer in June 1963, was "a sobriquet she relished." Like most atheists, she did not so much disbelieve in God as passionately hate Him, along with His noblest creation, man.

Seaman traces Madalyn's chaotic campaign against the grain of society, "in slit-eyed, bawling combat for the high ground," from her dysfunctional, American Gothic family life to her last days in the shambles of the movement she had spearheaded. Although she made Austin, Texas her nominal home from 1965 to 1996, when she disappeared, she remained essentially a homeless wanderer, lonely in the way only intelligent awful people can be. Her saga is a classic one of restless moves from town to town, from hope to despair to hope triumphant once again over experience: family fights (the bitterest kind), lost jobs, boozing, legal wrangles, purloined mailing lists, embezzled funds, betrayals, burnt bridges, and muddled waters.

Like Lee Harvey Oswald, Madalyn tried to defect to the Soviet Union in 1960 but was rejected as undesirable. Although she never formally joined the Communist Party USA (the Commies didn't want her as a member, either, fearing she'd come right out and blithely announce their real agenda), she was a Com Symp in every sense of the term, "aglow with joy" at the launch of Sputnik and talking up the wonders of Stalinist Russia at precisely the time when most thoughtful leftists were breaking with the Party. Even the ACLU eventually found itself unable to stomach her.

The high point of Madalyn's lifelong struggle to drive Christianity from her fellow Americans' lives came with her victory on June 17, 1963 in the *Murray v. Curlett* and *Abingdon Township v. Schempp* petitions to outlaw Bible reading and the Lord's Prayer in public schools. It was an 8-1 Supreme Court decision; Madalyn was judged to have standing because her son Bill, then 16, was affected by the practice. Bill spent years active in the atheist cause, a poster boy for "free thought." Madalyn later attempted, usually without success, to use her granddaughter Robin as a similar wedge in lawsuits of various kinds. It is startling to realize that Mada-

lyn was trying to oust "under God" from the Pledge of Allegiance some 40 years before Michael Newdow had the same bright idea of using his (noncustodial) fatherhood to file suit on behalf of his daughter.

That such a woman—loser, misfit, renegade, outsider—could have ended the right of an avowedly Christian country to invoke the grace of God upon its children at the start of their school day raises time-honored questions about the role of the individual in history. Which comes first, the actor or the opportunity? Conditions may be ripe, but they cannot pluck themselves. In this regard, Madalyn and her patchwork, scattershot life might be viewed as the ever-present "free radical," ricocheting around within the body politic but only doing damage once that body is susceptible.

About midway through *America's Most Hated Woman*, the interlocking mass of lawsuits in the process of dismissal or continuance or appeal or reintroduction becomes "a Rube Goldberg legal apparatus" virtually impossible to get a handle on, and Seaman does have trouble distinguishing between nuisance suits and important cases. One aspect of the book that suffers thereby is its assessment of Madalyn's ultimate significance. Did she appreciably secularize American society? Or did her polarizing behavior manage to stimulate the opposite? Seaman notes that Madalyn

never worried that fatal stress and collapse might ... loom as an unintended consequence of American freethinkers' longstanding attempts to make rational the nooks and crannies of society. ... And if the lawyerization of America was a parasitic blob that would grow huge and kill the host, Madalyn didn't care. It was her window of opportunity, and she went through it.

Yet "fatal stress and collapse" have not occurred and the host is still alive, and the conviction that human rights and value flow from God, not human institutions, is still vital in American

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life; so perhaps we can conclude that without the Madalyns, the Religious Right that has had such a powerful impact on national politics might not have come into being. In fact, the gift of her son Bill's dramatic acceptance of Christ at age 33 after years of alcoholic misbehavior, leading to his current position as an evangelical leader who has the ear of President Bush, is as great a part of her legacy as the Lord's Prayer decision.

It was all downhill for her after that victory in 1963. But the money had begun pouring in from a previously unsuspected Silent Minority of the godless, and it became "like a drug," recalled Bill. Seaman notes wisely that throughout her life Madalyn believed that all she needed was more money, forever clueless that all more zeroes did was blow her problems up to the next larger size. And it was the money, in the end, which led to her murder.

The true-crime genre demands wallowing in the lowbrow lives of malefactors, and David Waters is surely one such: the sort of pleasant fellow who might be partying with you one moment and have his knife between your ribs the next. Seaman dutifully parallels his story with Madalyn's until their fatal intersection. Waters and two accomplices kidnapped Madalyn, her son Jon Garth, and granddaughter Robin in an extortion scheme, but you know how those deals go down—he wound up having to kill them, you know, and then of course you can't leave bodies just lying around, so he got rid of them. The bodies weren't found until five years later, in 2001. The identification was made from Madalyn's stainless steel hip-replacement joint.

Madalyn's many enemies have understandably crowed that her fate was a just and fitting one for an unbeliever. But God exists whether we can bring ourselves to believe in Him or not. Christian teachings led Madalyn's son Bill to forgive her, and if he can, so can we. ■

Marian Kester Coombs writes from Crofton, Md.

[*Russell Kirk and the Age of Ideology*, W. Wesley McDonald, University of Missouri Press, 243 pages]

Behind the Conservative Mind

By Peter J. Stanlis

W. WESLEY MCDONALD'S book provides a good occasion for a historical and philosophical assessment of Russell Kirk's vital role in giving shape and direction to modern American conservatism. With his title, "the Age of Ideology," McDonald underscores Kirk's crucial distinction—so important for a valid understanding of conservatism—between philosophy and ideology. The book also touches upon the tragic destruction of the conservative movement by the self-styled neoconservatives. As well, the biographical and bibliographical dimensions in this study present an image of the character of Kirk as revealed in his epic-making book *The Conservative Mind* and in his many other works up to his death in April 1994.

McDonald's study consists of eight closely related chapters—on the rebirth of American conservatism during the last half of the 20th century; on its ethical basis; on the role in conservatism of the moral and aesthetic imagination, reason, and natural law; on the nature of tradition and what Kirk called "the permanent things"; on order in the soul and in society; on community, freedom, leadership, and education; and on the enduring legacy of Kirk's conception of conservatism. The book is graced with a lengthy bibliography of his works and of secondary sources that enhances the value of this excellent overview of Kirk as a writer and thinker. For any reader who wishes to understand the importance of Kirk in the story of modern conservatism, this volume is a useful introduction.

During the last four decades of Kirk's life it was acknowledged by traditional conservatives that their political philosophy received its public baptism with the publication of *The Conservative Mind*. Gordon Keith Chalmers's full-length review in *Time* called Kirk "as relentless as his enemies, Karl Marx and Harold Laski, considerably more temperate and scholarly, and in passages of this very readable book, brilliant and even eloquent." Henry Regnery, Kirk's publisher, observed that his volume put an end to the virtual monopoly of liberal assumptions and to "the long domination of liberalism" in American politics; it made conservatism intellectually respectable not only with the general public but also in colleges and universities.

The Conservative Mind appeared to have destroyed many of the most serious common misrepresentations of conservatism. New Deal liberals tinged with Marxist assumptions about history and economics—such as Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr. in politics and Lionel Trilling in literary criticism—had identified conservatism with medieval monarchy and religion, which they perceived as forms of tyranny; or with aristocratic privileges Americans rejected; or with uncontrolled *laissez-faire* economics and the social Darwinism of unscrupulous businessmen. This secular and liberal parody of conservatism was demolished by Kirk. *The Conservative Mind* revealed that the cultural patterns of European and American life were refined into civilized behavior by traditional religious beliefs and the corporate nature of man in community life. In contrast to conservatism, liberalism was based upon materialist assumptions that created the ideologies of modern totalitarian systems by destroying community in favor of collectivism.

It is highly instructive to trace out the leading elements of Kirk's conservatism, to note the difficulties it encountered, and to perceive its final tragic fate in the partisan politics that followed the Reagan presidency. Kirk's first important insight into political thought and action came at Duke University in 1941,

when he wrote his master's thesis on John Randolph of Roanoke. That brilliant but eccentric politician of the early years of the American Republic was essentially a follower of Edmund Burke's political philosophy. From Duke, Kirk went to St. Andrews University in Scotland, where he read Burke at much greater length and wrote his doctoral dissertation in humane letters on the history of conservatism in thinkers from Burke to George Santayana. This study was a prelude to *The Conservative Mind*, which consisted of a series of biographical sketches of British and American statesmen, literary figures, theologians, and legal and social writers in the Burkean tradition. Kirk outlined the rough historical continuity in the basic principles of man and society held by these thinkers.

But the historical orientation of his book lacked a philosophical foundation until he read in manuscript my 1958 book *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law*. All of the subjects and themes covered in Kirk's first edition of *The Conser-*

and institutions. His well-known regard for the Catholic Church's historic role as a civilizing force certainly helps to explain his willingness to accept neo-Thomistic natural law formulations. Second, Peter J. Stanlis's *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law*, for which Kirk wrote the foreword, probably reinforced this leaning. Any inclination in Kirk to read into Burke's observations a full-blown natural law tradition seemed confirmed by Stanlis's arguments. Third, Kirk's assumption about the indistinguishability of the moral imagination and the natural law made him even more receptive to the natural law tradition.

This passage, in its chronology and its speculative assumptions about causes and effects, constitutes an extended *non sequitur*, not of logic but by inference, and it is wholly misleading.

Edmund Burke and the Natural Law did not merely reinforce or supplement Kirk's existing religious beliefs or con-

In noting that "Kirk came to endorse" the thesis of *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law*, McDonald should have perceived that this included Cicero's "right reason" as the means of understanding natural law in Burke's terminology, and that this was not assumed to be identical with Babbitt's "moral imagination." But this is not merely a problem in semantics. It involves distinguishing between various conceptions of reason and of nature. The "right reason" of moral natural law is wholly distinct from the purely intellectual conception of reason in Cartesian rationalism because the former includes an ethical dimension. It is normative, not merely descriptive and analytical. The "nature" in natural law is centered in human nature, not in physical nature. By Burke's era the classical and Christian conception of moral natural law was deeply plunged into confusions regarding both reason and nature by Hobbes, Locke, and the *philosophes* of the French Enlightenment; this is the subject of the first two chapters in *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law*. As it applies to Kirk's understanding of moral natural law in Burke's political philosophy, McDonald's study does not avoid aspects of the Enlightenment's confusions.

But McDonald redeems himself in his later chapters "Tradition and the 'Permanent Things,'" "Order in the Soul and Commonwealth," and especially in "Leadership and Education." These contain many insights on Kirk's achievement in his critical negation of modern ideology, which is the negative side of his political philosophy. As an intellectual biography of the writer who introduced the American public to political conservatism as an alternative to Marxism and its disguised forms in the politics of the neocons, *Russell Kirk and the Age of Ideology* makes a good beginning in the struggle to regain the soul and culture of America. ■

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BY BURKE'S ERA THE CLASSICAL AND CHRISTIAN CONCEPTION OF MORAL NATURAL LAW WAS PLUNGED INTO CONFUSIONS REGARDING BOTH REASON AND NATURE.

vative Mind are accurately documented in detail in McDonald's study. But his account of the relationship between *The Conservative Mind* and *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law* reveals some problems that require clarification.

McDonald's essential argument is summarized in an introductory paragraph:

Kirk's preference for natural law explanation of his moral position can perhaps be attributed to three factors. First, there was what [Donald Atwell] Zoll called his 'unabashed theism.' Kirk was 'often content to defend a premise by reference to its compatibility with Christian principles or concepts.' His conversion to Catholicism in 1964 probably strengthened his already strong sympathy for its doctrines

firm Irving Babbitt's concept of "moral imagination." Kirk read the book before it was published—at his recommendation and that of Louis Bredvold—by the University of Michigan, and he acknowledged that the thesis in *Edmund Burke and the Natural Law* was to him an original and complete revelation.

Prior to reading this book, Kirk believed that the ultimate foundation of Burke's politics was in prescriptive law, and he perceived Burke as a party politician who venerated English law and customs. In his foreword, he stated that this volume extended the range of historical, philosophical, and ethical dimensions in Burke's political philosophy, connecting it with the ancient civilizations of Greece and Rome and the whole medieval and Renaissance Christian tradition.

No Means No



What would Americans do without Europe showing them the way? Take a look at what just took place in France and Holland. It's a good lesson for

the colonies. The people of both these ancient nations voted no to a constitution that would ensure lower wages, lower living standards, more unemployment, poorer social services, and closer relations to Uncle Sam, but the mandarins—who think they know better than the common man—have refused to accept that a no vote means no. It reminds me of the old joke about when a lady says no she means maybe. This has been the reaction of the European elite. The masses didn't really mean it.

My favorite is Peter Mandelson, a powerful European trade commissioner named to his lucrative post by his old buddy Tony Blair. Mandelson has twice been dismissed from cabinet posts in the Blair government for offenses that in this country would have landed him in the pokey. Not in the old country, however. Over there he was rewarded *a la* Wolfowitz and kicked upstairs to a powerful European Commission post with more perks than there are name dropers in Hollywood. Mandelson has stated that the resounding no didn't count and that there should be more voting until the "peasants" get it right. Democracy lives.

Here's how it works over there—and, if we're not careful, will one day work over here. The political class of Europe treats its subjects as immature children who are incapable of making the right decisions. Nothing wrong with that—if you're a Mao or a Stalin and inform the people through lies instead of honest debate. Just as anyone disagreeing with the war in Iraq is immediately portrayed as anti-American and pro-terror by the

Bush administration, European dissidents—those who disagree with an all-powerful centralized Europe—are portrayed as nationalistic fascists and worse. We've seen it all before, but history repeats itself, *n'est pas*?

The press, of course, plays along. What we have over there is an establishment press ready to print any absurdity in order to please its masters. It always starts like that, and when I think of it, it's not so different over here. Our media go out to get people the political establishment hates and extols the virtues of those the establishment wants praised.

The revelation that Mark Felt was Deep Throat was accompanied by the predictable orgy of self-congratulation.

JUST AS **ANYONE DISAGREEING WITH THE WAR IN IRAQ IS IMMEDIATELY PORTRAYED AS ANTI-AMERICAN AND PRO-TERROR** BY THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION, EUROPEAN DISSIDENTS ARE PORTRAYED AS **NATIONALISTIC FASCISTS AND WORSE.**

The ridiculous *Newsweek* not only put the story on its cover—as if it hadn't been covered *ad nauseam* in every newspaper and television program in the land—it took the magazine 11 pages to report that tired old chestnut. The fact that *Newsweek* had just eaten humble pie had nothing to do with it. The fact that *Oldweek* is owned by the *Washington Post*, however, did.

Better yet, take the case of Judith Miller of the *New York Times*. More than any other hack in the country, little Judy helped lead the United States into catastrophe in Iraq with her ridiculous stories

fed to her by that arch-crook Ahmad Chalabi. Miller's career has suffered no setbacks. She continues to write for the *Times*, collects awards like the Barnard Medal of Distinction, and pontificates on TV as to whether embedded journalists with U.S. troops in Iraq had perhaps compromised their objectivity. The ruthlessly ambitious Miller was of course the most embedded of them all—pun intended—churning out drivel about the hunt for weapons of mass destruction.

Her career follows the trajectory of another great establishment figure, Robert McNamara, fire-bomber of Tokyo, napalm-bomber of Vietnam, then World Bank humanitarian, *New York Review of Books* pontificator on the perils of nuclear war, and general agonizer over the human condition.

See what I mean about the new world following the old one? European elites have lied, lied, and lied again about

where they are taking the people of Europe. Cheney, Rumsfeld, and Wolfowitz have lied, lied, and lied again about where they're taking us in the Middle East. This is why we have to pull up and say, "whoa." Americans, after all, are Europeans who don't like 10 percent unemployment, a class system, and a welfare state that guarantees statism. Americans are used to bringing all the problems to the surface. Europeans stick them in a drawer. It's called welfare of the mind over there. If we're not careful, we'll all be Europeans once again—and soon. ■

“COMPELLING”

— *The Wall Street Journal*

A sex industry insider's new book says “Enough is enough” and reveals the smut peddlers' disdain for Middle America.

In *Smut: A Sex Industry Insider (and Concerned Father) Says Enough Is Enough*, Gil Reavill makes the case that the “just turn it off” argument no longer works. *Smut* is everywhere: in movies, music, TV, the Internet, video games, billboards, store-window displays, and advertising.

As he writes, “It’s the new secondhand smoke. It confronts you against your will, where you least want to encounter it, and it’s impossible to protect your children from it.”

Reavill, who has written for magazines like *Penthouse* and *Maxim*, takes the reader inside the media world, revealing the self-justifications of the people who create our movies, sitcoms, pop songs, commercials, and morning radio shows. With shocking behind-the-scenes stories, he shows how his colleagues have kept pushing the envelope over the past two decades so that words and images considered “porn” in the 1980s are now deemed appropriate for the public airwaves (both radio and TV) around the clock.



SMUT is sparking a long overdue debate about where we draw the line in our culture. It exposes:

- Which large American corporations profit the most from porn.
- An ordinary day in the life of the author's twelve-year-old daughter, as she watches a sex-charged “tween” sitcom, sees a trailer for a movie about a porn star, rides past a strip club right off a highway, and hears the radio playing a dirty rap song.
- How porn has come out of the brown-paper wrapper and into pop culture: From Janet Jackson's primetime striptease, to Jenna Jameson's bestselling memoir, to Howard Stern's monologues about breast implants.
- How free-speech absolutists are misguided in taking their stand for smut.
- And, most importantly, what can be done to put smut back where it belongs — out of the public square and behind closed doors.

Published by Sentinel, an imprint of Penguin Group (USA).

Available at bookstores and online retailers.

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